

HAILGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI CO-OPERATIVES MOVEMENT

◦ Eritrea: struggle
For independence

◦ Somali women
and culture

◦ The statute of the Organisation
of somali Cooperatives

Struggle to
learn in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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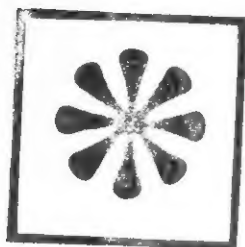
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EDITORIAL NOTES



77: A YEAR CROWNED WITH SUCCESS

In the Editorial of the Dec. Issue 1976, we predicted that 1977 will be a year of important achievements for the Somali people. 1976 have marked the convening of the first congress of the SRSP on first July which has special significance of its own for the Somali nation. It is the day that the Southern Region of the Republic gained independence, also it is the day of the re-unification of the two parts of Somalia.

In late 1976 the establishment of the SRSP was materialised throughout the Republic. On the months of August and September delegations led by Central Committee members paid official visits to the Districts and Regions of the country to witness elections of different committees of the SRSP.

1977 has began with consolidation of the struggle of Western Somali Liberation Forces against the black colonialism of Abyssinia.

Consequently, the third plenary session of the CC took place, and adopted important resolutions. The session examined the achievement of the programmes carried out in the previous year. The Secretary-General of SRSP gave a report in which he analysed the present political, economic and social situation of the Country. Jaalle Siyad speaking on the role of the SRSP said. «As its name indicates the party is a revolutionary one. It came out through the class struggle of the masses and based on the objective realities governing our society. The bitter struggle of our people for independence is an integral part of the world revolutionary movement against capitalism and imperialism». In his report the Secretary-General also discussed different issues of international and local significance.

On March 1977, the congress of the Somali Women Democratic Union was held at the Police Academy between 4th to 7th.

In his opening speech the Secretary-General of SRSP outlined the heroic role played by Somali women during the struggle for freedom and how they participated actively in the different national uprisings starting from the time of Ahmed Gurey to the present struggle for the liberation and unity of the Somali nation. Jaalle

Siyad said: «I want to make it clear that there wasn't a single victory won over the enemy that the women *did* not indeed take the most significant part. Likewise, they played a major role in the development and construction of the country.

Delegations representing international and national organisations participated in the Congress. The congress elected the national committee and the executive committee of the SWDO.

On April, the first congress of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions was held in Jaalle Siad Military Academy. It was attended by delegates representing workers of all the Districts, and Regions of the Country.

The Secretary-General delivered a speech in which he traced back the history of the Somali working class. He also pointed out role played by the workers in the struggle of the Somali nation.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the 21st October Revolution provided Somali Workers with the opportunity to participate in the construction of the society.

On the 12th-14th of May the Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) was held in Jaalle Siyad Military Academy. The participants in the Congress were 628 delegates representing different strata of the Youth. Delegations from International Youth Organisations also attended as observers.

On the 8th of May a referendum was held in Jabuti in which the over-whelming majority of the people voted for freedom and independence. In the mean time, the parliamentary elections for the new Republic were also held.

The Somali Democratic Republic took a historical and honourable stand in the struggle of the people of Jabuti for independence.

For the last six-months of 1977 the political atmosphere of the Horn of Africa was shadowed by the liberation wars going on in Ethiopia and carried out by the movements of Somali West, Abbo. Afar and Eritrea.

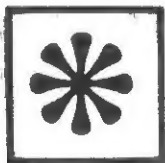
The Horn of Africa has become a hot spot endangering peace and security in Africa and the world in general.

The Secretary-General of the SRSP had on many occasions appealed to the Addis Ababa regime not to create an atmosphere of conflict, and seek a peaceful solution to the problems prevailing in the area.

The situation was further aggravated by the direct interference of Foreign parties namely, the Soviet Union, Cuba and others who

amassed large quantities of sophisticated weapons as well as troops in support of the Ethiopian regime.

In retrospect, due to the new developments in the Horn of Africa, the CC of the SRSP after having an extraordinary session on 13 Nov. 1977, abrogated the Somali-Soviet friendship treaty and severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, as a result of their hostile and unfriendly behaviour manifested by these two States against the paramount interest of the Somali nation.



AT LAST!!

Whenever international politics is analysed honest people who cherish and love peace are bewildered by the double standards manifested by the super-power and their methods of manipulating it. If we take the question of the Horn as an example, it was abundantly clear before hand, the antagonistic forces and their respective objectives in opposing each other.

On the one hand, they are the Western Somali national liberation forces, who are liberating their motherland and on the other the Abyssinian who want to perpetuate their colonialism ad infinitum!!

Hence, if a correct and a just solution is wanted for the question of the Horn, then the above mentioned facts are the essence of the problem. The Soviet Union, Cuba and their allies are deliberately evading the existing facts by opting for their global strategy in supporting the Abyssinian in their unjust goals of perpetuating their colonialism in Western Somali. Besides, they have brought to Abyssinia and the war fronts massive weapons and countless troops to buttress the Addis Ababa regime.

Immediately, the SDR, has made it know to the world that this was not a viable way of solving the explosive question of the Horn. Likewise, it has made it clear that the massive weapons and the infusion of foreign troops more than thousand and thousand are endangering the stability of the whole region that's the Horn. However subsequent demands were made from different circles to the effect that the weapons were small quantities and the foreign troops were not at all present.

Today several states acknowledge the presence of foreign troops along side of the colonial troops of Abyssinia as well as the availability of massive sophisticated weapons under the disposition of Addis Ababa regime.

Recently the head of U.S. National Security Council has mentioned the fact that they are positive about the presence of Soviet and

Cuban troops who are assisting the Addis Ababa regime in the prosecution of the war against the national liberation forces of western Somalia.

These troops are estimated to be more than sixteen thousand men.

Nevertheless, this admission added that the Somali troops must be withdrawn from Ethiopia, because their presence endanger norms of international law pertaining to boundaries!!! Further, the U.S. Government attitude did not stop there, but it started to court once more the Addis Ababa regime, by the resumption of her military supplies to the said regime. Thus, it appears that profound analyses of the roots of the conflict of the Horn is not only desirable but completely avoided.

The people of Western Somalia have liberated themselves from the Abyssinian colonialism by not taking into consideration the sensibility and strategy of any super power.

The reason being that they are fighting for their survival and future for which they have sacrificed both their lives and resources.

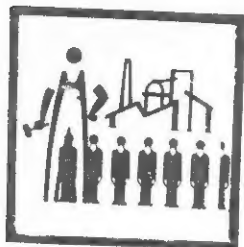
Subsequently, the aim of restoring the provisional boundaries of Abyssinia and her return to the territory which the Western Somali Liberation forces have already liberated means their massacre and the sacrifices of all their aspirations, with the condemnation of the remaining to permanent Abyssinian enslavement.

In this opinion a just one to be proposed by states? Is it an opinion to be taken to international organisations? Or is it something that can be digested by the people of Western Somalia? Or that can be accepted by the SDR?

Or an assumption is made to the effect that if the allied forces (and the other spectators) succeed in the obliteration of the national liberation forces and the SDR is subjected to an aggression, the on going war in the Horn will end there, so the remaining will be subjected to stiff bargaining.

Accordingly, to those who are thinking along this line, we say to them that if they want to avert a long, bitter and dreadful war; they will have to change some of their calculations. The major element which they today underestimate must be given the priority it deserves. That is the people who live their (Western Somalia), their desires and the liberation fronts which represent them.

Political, Social and Economic Affairs



FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE OSCM



Since the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party a year and a half ago, a number of social organisations representing the workers, Women and the youth were established in the country, following this an organisation comprising the various co-operatives in the country has been set up early this year.

On 6th January, 1978, the first Congress of the Organisation of the Somali Cooperative movement has taken place at the Police Academy in Mogadishu. 505 representatives, of the various co-operative Unions through out the regions of the SDR, have participated in the congress. Also, representatives from other social organisations were invited as observers.

In the First session, the Chairman and the Secretariat of the congress was elected. Then the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare delivered the opening speech.

In his speech, Jaalle Siad emphasised matters concerning the defence of the Somali Nation and its socio-economic progress. The

speech was in general based on two main factors:

1. The Historical Changes and the socio-economic transformations that the Somali Society went through and from which its goals were set.

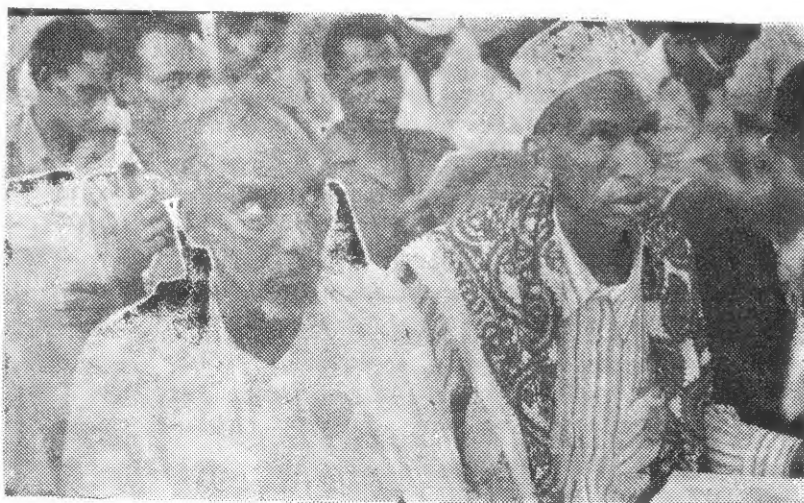
2. The Rightful stand of the SDR in regards to the persistent issue of the Horn of Africa.

Also, in this first session, a report by the Bureau of co-operatives of the SRSP was presented. The

report contained a general outline of the development of the Somali Co-operatives Movement from its early stages to the present time.

At the opening of the second session, the proposed programme and internal regulations for the OSCM was presented. Then separate committees from the various co-operatives were set up to study the proposed programme and regulations. On the third session, the committees presented a final draft to the congress. Then the Congress approved both the programme and the regulations after minor amendments on certain sections.

During the course of the second and the third sessions, representatives of the regional co-operative unions have presented reports covering their successes and problems and as well proposals on the development of their Unions. All the representatives expressed their unreserved support to the policy of the SRSP, the Just de-colonisation struggle of the Western Somali people and that of the liberation movements of the world.





Besides, representatives of the social organisations for workers, women and youth were given chances to address the congress. In their speeches, they have proclaimed their full support to the newly founded OSCM. They welcomed it as a required institution which would contribute to the struggle for national defense as well as the realization of the revolutionary aspirations.

Also the various regional and district branches and departments of the social organisations and Governmental bodies have incessantly been sending congratulatory messages in support for the new movement of the OSCM from all parts of Somalia.

Moreover the Flowers of the Somali Revolution had at intervals depicted its support in literary works. Guest members of the FSR had been displaying patriotic songs, poems and plays to keep the interests of the Congress at momentum from the beginning to the end. Such entertaining programmes were organized in the form of competition among the mobilization bands of the Somali trade Unions, the National Flower of the

Somali Revolution and the district Flowers of the Somali Revolution of Waaberi, Dayniile, Yaaqshiid and Afgooye Districts.

The presence of guest-members from Godey, one of the liberated regions of Western Somalia, had also due significance. These guest-members have presented the story of their struggle which moved the nationalistic feelings of the participants. They have related the long struggle of the Western Somali people against the Abyssinian colonialism and how the Somali heroes broke the Yoke of colonialism. These guest-members also mentioned the present dignified life of the Western Somali people after liberating their territories and the affection they hold for their brothers in the SDR.

During their presentation of the de-colonization struggle, they were at intervals posed by nationalistic chorus songs depicting the material and moral support of the SDR to the just struggle of the Western Somali people.

At the closing session of the Congress, the national committee, the executive committee and the inspection and auditing committee

of the Somali Co-operative Movement were elected.

For the National Committee 104 members were elected to represent all co-operative movements in Somalia. The members elected for the executive committee were the following nine:

1. Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali — Chairman.
2. Jaalle Yassin Gelle Warsame — 1st Vice-Chairman.
3. Jaalle Mohamed Muse Mohamed — 2nd Vice-Chairman.
4. Jaalle Abdi Dahir Hassan — Secretary of the department for foreign relation.
5. Jaalle Sheikh Ali Ibrahim — Secretary of the department of Justice and documentation.
6. Jaalle Abrone Haji Yusuf — Secretary of the department of Education and vocational training.
7. Jaalle Haji Abdow — Secretary of the department of Mobilization and Social Affairs.
8. Jaalle Ibrahim Mohamed Haduma — Secretary of the department of planning and production.
9. Jaalle Mohamed Umar Isman — Secretary of the department of Administration and Finance.

The committee of inspection and Auditing consist of:-

1. Jaalle Abdillahi Hirsi Samatar — Chairman.
2. Jaalle Ali Jama Olad.
3. Jaalle Mohamed Matan Saray
4. Jaalle Abdi Said Gurhan
5. Jaalle Abdillahi Ismail

The Congress was closed by the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. The closing speech of the President of the SDR dealt with matters of great significance and provided the Somali Co-operatives with valuable guidance and directives.

THE ESSENCE OF THE STATUTE AND PROGRAMME OF THE SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By M.D. Afrah

These are the starting words of the statute of the Somali cooperati-

ve movement. The text of this statute defines the objectives of the

organisation, its structure and function.

As this statute stated the organization «unites all exploited middle social groups and strata consolidating their capabilities, standard of living, and technical know how to overcome all forms of exploitation.

The statute makes it clear that scientific socialism will constitute the basis for the organization and that its structure will be based on democratic centralism which means:

1. The election of all committees from the bottom to top.
2. The submission of the lower bodies to the higher bodies.
3. Strict discipline which means the submission of the minority to the majority.
4. All works and functions should be based on efficiency, cooperation and collective leadership.
5. The structure of the organization is built upon national, regional, district and village levels with due consideration to the similarities of their functions. Following the above structure the organization comprises the existing cooperatives and future ones.

The existing cooperatives are:

The cooperative organization for farmers, fishers, livestock and forests, industries and artists, construction and transportation, food stuffs and services.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ORGANISATION:

The programme defines the policies and responsibilities of the organization. Before discussing duties the programme discusses the objective laws governing the development of human society, then and only then does it focus light on the history of the society and the struggles of the working people against oppression and exploitation.

The programme also demonstrates the system of production before and the forms of cooperation that existed among the poor exploited classes.

The programme also points out that the revolution stepped up to promote the interests of the toiling masses and the foundation of cooperative organization which played a major part of the struggle. The SRC, the political office and the SRSP all concentrated all their efforts to implement these objectives. This cooperative movement organization now founded, at the most appropriate moment is the fruits of these efforts.

The organization discussed and accepted the following responsibilities and duties put forward in the programme.

A. POLITICAL

1. Adherence to the principles of scientific socialism and teaching it to different groups of the organization.
2. Intensification of the struggle of Somali people for freedom and unity, and to inspire the spirit of nationalism and freedom in the minds of all members.
3. Rejection of all forms of exploitation and capitalism.
4. Strengthening the solidarity among all progressive forces in the country and outside the country.
5. Solidarity with all people struggling for freedom, peace, democracy and for advanced society devoid of all forms of exploitation.

ECONOMIC:

1. Increase of production and economic development oriented on socialist economic structure.
2. Intensification of the struggle SRSP programme and the execution of the national plan, for the realization of self sufficiency in economy.
3. Providing the people with the basic needs and necessities of life.
4. To practise the system of collective division of profit, which is based on the principle of:

«From each according to his ability, to each according to his work». This is the fundamental principle in sharing the fruits of labour in socialist framework.

5. To inculcate the spirit of respect for work and socialist competition in all members of the organization.

SOCIAL:

1. Raising the level of political awareness of the members and the preparation of an active cadre equipped with high consciousness and leadership qualities.
2. Promotion and development of the national culture and the eradication of reactionary tradition and cultures inherited from old society.
3. The encouragement and orientation of the members in the importance of social insurance.
4. Child and mother health care centers for all cooperatives.
5. Fighting all manifestations of the old cultures that hinder progress, cooperation, and solidarity among them tribalism, regionalism, afmisharism, idleness, bribery, misappropriation of cooperative funds, greediness etc.
6. To put the principles of solidarity and cooperation in full practice as the solid foundation of the new man and as an expression of the real essence of socialist democracy for the realisation of justice, equality and national unity.

This general outline on the statute and programme of the Somali cooperative movement organization reflects the nature of that organization, and its objectives; it is clear that this is progressive organization working on the principles of scientific socialism, struggling to protect the interests of the Somali working people to achieve advanced society, inspired by the programme of the SRSP and the teachings of the general Secretary of the party Jaalle Maxamed Siyaad Barre.

PARTY LIFE



The General Secretary of the SRSP Opening Speech in the Founding Congress of the Somali Cooperative Union



It is a special privilege for me to be taking part in this historical conference, where we are laying the foundations for the union of the Somali Cooperative Movement. In fact it is an occasion which has great and vital meaning for the whole Somali Nation, and specifically for those who continuously and indefatigably are struggling for the full realisation of true progress, independence and social justice, and who furthermore, are in the front ranks in the endeavour to build a socialist society, free of backwardness and the exploitation of man by man. The establishment of this Union which presently we are embarking upon marks one of the long range goals envisioned by the 21st October Revolution, which day after day are multiplying. It is also a

symbol of our revolutionary perseverance and resoluteness as regards its long term goals and objectives.

Comrades with every step that the revolution takes in the carrying out the nation's cherished goals it becomes increasingly relevant that I put it across to the nation, and to explain the theoretical premises on which it is based and over and above this the place it occupies in the overall social development strategy of the nation, hinging upon a well informed, patriotic and conscious understanding of the economic, cultural and political transformations obtaining in the given historical juncture we are traversing. Comrades speaking in general terms it can be stated that one of the first measures to be taken toward a patriotic, progressive and prosperous path ensuring unity is the strengthening and further consolidation of the newly found political

power enjoyed by social political organisations. This is so in as much as any political body which is headed by a political party and mass organisations, based as they are on the interests of the toiling masses and groupings has to be in a position to fully replace the former parties and social organisations, which by their nature championed the then prevalent sectional and group interests.

Immediately on the birth of the 21st October revolution it became unavoidable to abolish the so-called parties and social organisations then existing, since these parties and organisations rendered themselves unsuitable in carrying out the responsibilities bestowed on them. Putting the political parties in abeyance did not mean that the new political authority, led as it was by the army, had in mind the monopolisation of political power thereby making the role of the mas

ses undesirable and redundant. Far from it, really it did mean that the new political authority was intimately and inseparably linked with the Somali toiling masses. For this very reason the new political power, right in its birth committed itself to the Somali toiling masses, and this is abundantly corroborated by the historical experiences of our revolution.

Emanating from this was the inescapable fact that the Somali masses, for whose interest the revolution was born, should be enabled to fully participate and partake in running all administrative powers touching upon their lives. This proposition was all the more pressing to the extent of ensuring the mutual, harmonious cooperation and unity amongst the revolutionary forces: the armed forces, workers, youth women, peasantry, and nomads. To attain heightened unity and cooperation a particular office was created by the SRC and charged with the vital tasks of orienting, raising and organising the political consciousness of the Somali masses. The political mobilisation of the masses had far-reaching effects and was grouped on long term prespective goals.

Comrades, the revolutionary leadership always had in mind fundamental transformation to be wrought in the Somali society, and did not so much limit itself to mere keeping of their political offices. These fundamental transformation were supposed to encompass a society bearing the unwholesome scars of tribalism, corruption, nepotism, disorder and narrow self seeking goals, exploitation, and the breakdown of law and order, etc. The revolutionary goals were to save the society from the darkness, ignorance, abject poverty and debilitating diseases, and to in their place build a healthy socialist Society the implementation of these goals, and the levels attained in their fulfilment can be summed up by the preliminary stages of the Political office in orienting and mo-

bilising the masses, with the objective of finally aiming at satisfactory levels whereby the Somali people discharge their historical and sacred duty i.e. the complete socio-economic transformation of the country. However it is pertinent to ask ourselves the question: In what ways could we assess the attainment of the goals undertaken? to answer this I can say that the establishment of the Party of the new type for which we have struggled too long and arduously, and which at last we succeeded to have founded in July 1st, 1976, as the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party constitutes a valuable advance under which all other points are subsumed.

As has to be fully known the establishment of the Party, and the founding of the social organisations closely tied to it, their mobilisation and giving them ideological terra firma was not the ultimate and final end to facilitate popular participation in political life, in its multifaceted economic, cultural and social dimensions. The point is as has to be clearly borne in mind, if the party of the new type does not create strong and unbreakable relations with the masses, most particularly with its toiling sections, it loses its authority and credibility to carry out the revolutionary vanguard goals inspiring it. This truth is a historically provable one.

In full cognisance of this we created the general Democratic Somali Women's Union on 8th March 1977; the Somali workers Union on 1st May, and SRYU on 15th May and finally today we are deliberating the process of creating the general Somali cooperatives Union. Well then, the establishment of this Union completes the extremely weighty tasks, which is the strengthening, growth and systematising the popular basis of the revolutionary rule, which is a historical duty which objective processes make imperative.

Be that as it may, but more important and noteworthy is that the General Somali Cooperatives Union's (GSCU) role will with the passing of days gain momentum so far it will affect the lives and destinies of greater and larger community of people, i.e. since it will control the bread basket of the urbanised populace. For instance small house-hold peasant owners, along with the Somali agricultural cooperatives constitute the productive forces serving the local foodstuff needs, and over and above this the exported agricultural products from which accrue hard currency reserves which we need. For the peasantry and the toiling masses generally the Somali revolution dedicates itself to save them from the class exploitation, oppression and exceptional hardships to which hitherto they have been its sole victims, and the economico-political path in its entirety devotes itself to these sacred goals. Our commitment to these goals were and are not imitational, but doubtlessly emerged from politically a conscious realisation of their valuable significance for the Somali nation. As a totality they constitute the only authentic path valid for the solution of the multiple and varied problems inherited from the colonialist and neo-colonialist determined backwardness. Our country, as well as other developing countries urgently need an overhauling of the old and traditional socio-economic structures. The cornerstone in the relevant changes with regard to the mode of economic production turns upon essential transmutations in the public state owned and cooperative sectors. As must be noted in the transitional period of socialist construction there does exist several economic formations and types, each of which serves a given purpose. The public sector as the leading sector guides the direction of the national economy, and the public sector being invariably socialist in nature, ultimately becomes the most dominating, subsuming under it all the other sectors existing.

The cooperative sector of the economy, as the 2nd most strategically placed sector plays a highly distinguishable role with regard to the fundamental transformations which a social revolution implies. Notwithstanding, there are so-called cooperatives which are incontrovertibly capitalist in essence and whose true capitalistic nature is day after day disclosed by objective circumstances, despite their superficial socialist trappings. Cooperatives of these type are capitalist enterprises, and needless to say, perpetuate an exploitative, harsh and oppressive economic setup for both the peasant and nomadic populations (Rural population). The cooperatives movement of our country are progressive and socialist based ones and must thereby serve the objective needs of the toiling masses.

Henceforth the objective basis of our cooperatives must be the serious endeavour at continuous economic growth, the goal which alone ensures social justice, equality and a truly better life. The creation of agricultural handicraftsmen, skilled and technical, fishery, small traders' and nomadic cooperatives facilitates the pooling together of mental, manual and financial resources under a single command thus attaining a greater productive capacity, which in turn acts as a valuable means of reaching our goal of self-sufficiency with the help of which true sovereignty of our country can be ensured.

Comrades the famous legal promulgation law number 40 which was issued by our revolutionary state in October 1973 related as it was to the creation organisation and systematising of the country's cooperatives translated into real life. The points above proudly state that a great deal has been done in the practical implementation of that law.

Though the revolutionary period particularly with regard to the number of years the cooperatives

existed and the problems confronted and their handling is very short. nonetheless, it could be noted that we have reached an adequate level in respect of the establishment, organisation and systematic forms adopted for the cooperatives. Be that as it may we should never be smug and complacent, and in spite of the relatively high levels attained we should be ready to take further advances and long strides which are in consonance with the theoretical and practical gains to be derived from socialist cooperatives. Our revolutionary regime has time and again warned against the immature and spontaneous framework of thinking which are not based on a real study of the objective conditions of our country, and consequently we have proceeded step by step in the construction of our cooperatives.

Comrades to touch on the topical world political issues of the day we can observe that in the last years so many things have changed so much so a new and totally new situation has arisen in the world political correlation of forces. The historical process is more and more getting highly favourable for the peoples striving for independence, democracy, peace and social progress. This valuable situation has come, thanks to the historical process which is at work and which have been enriched by the experienced actions of the world revolutionary movements and forces. This is proved beyond shadow of doubt by the heightened political conditions, manifested as they are by the armed struggles gaining ground and gathering momentum in the Horn of Africa related as it is to the dismantling and dismemberment of the Ethiopian Empire which the revolutionary forces- the liberation Fronts of Somali West Abbo, Eritrea day after day are striking deathly blows thereby anguishing their victories for the realisation of dreams for which nearly a century they have been fighting for. Noteworthy also to mention is the fact that the revolutionary mas-

ses of Ethiopia for far too long have been striving to end the feudal injustices and exploitations, and to in its place create a better life worthy of man.

However till this very day they are being subjected to heinous and horrendous oppressions, which is exemplified by daily destruction of hundreds of workers, students, youth, peasants, women and generally the toiling masses who are opposed to the unjust, and stifling treatments to which they are subjected. We see as our sacred duty, and the duty of all the rest who love the strengthening of peace and the preservation of basic human rights, that full aid be proffered to the progressive forces of Ethiopia who are striving hard for democracy and progress.

The political situation arising in Horn of Africa has brought about a change in the political relations of the world, since formerly we knew colonialism to be the only system opposing peoples' right to self-determination. This naturally emanated from colonialism's essential economic relations, and the forms of their manifestation. Due to this, colonialism tried to eternalise itself, and to perpetuate exploitation and strengthen the domination over other nations. This is not surprising for us, since as a nation we have been through it, and in so far the rest of the world has tasted its bitter cup of experience. However what is astonishing and most baffling is how the situation in the Horn transmuted the political stand, also the ideological principles, founded on true class orientation of countries which it was habitual to support and aid peoples struggling for their sovereign right to self-determination.

I have several times addressed myself to the situation obtaining in the Horn of Africa, and it is a situation which is being unnecessarily complicated by the Addis-Ababa regime, which at a time when the colonial sun is setting commits itself stubbornly and obdurately to

eternalise the Abyssinian oppression and colonialism over the subjected nations, who are seeking for their liberation. Furthermore the misguided policies of certain socialist countries with regard to Abyssinian colonialism on whose side they are on, practically for their naked selfinterests.

And solely for their wide strategic interest in Horn they have sacrificed and casted overboard the sacred tenets of the socialist ideology.

Comrades what is most surprising is that these unpalatable things are occurring in the closing quarter of the 20th Century, a Century characterised and typified by the more weighty and determining role of the national liberation movement in the world correlation of forces and encompassing the four corners of the globe. These are times when the socialist system which alone leads to true liberation and freedom, and peoples right to self-determination is becoming the singularly dominating system. Wasn't it Esteemed Comrade Lenin who correctly stated the principle of the nations' right to self-determination?

The present day discarding of this principle by the leadership of the Soviet Union militates against great Lenin's behests. Therefore the undisguised interference of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other allied States into the Horn of Africa affairs, which are specific to it is a blatant violation of the laws and rules laid down by the UNO and OAU. Besides it is tantamount to the flouting the dignity, unity and sovereignty of the African continent, and generally the freedom and peace loving international forces the world over. Over and above this it is a travesty that while African heads of State are the ones deserving of taking the necessary steps, for foreign powers to interfere into the Horn's affairs. This foreign interference will never bring about an effective peace settlement but

will on the contrary contribute to political complications and the internationalisation of the war going on, in the Horn.

Now then we may ask ourselves the question of what is the content of the new policy of the Soviet leadership, Cuba and other allied states which crystallises in arming the Addis-Ababa regime to the teeth, and furthermore deploying foreign troops to bolster them up? Comrades, first it is to contain and then destroy the just struggle being waged by the liberation movements of the Somali West, Abbo, Eritrea, Tigre and Afar and the obviation of the final just victory which inevitably has to be theirs. It is also an effort at obviating and inviting a sacred promise of our 21st October revolution. It is the conscious and premediated dissolution of all the revolutionary victories scored in the last years, be they economic, political and social and in general the new socio-economic relations which the October revolution has set up. The last but not the least objective underlying this interference is the planned attack on the Somali Democratic Republic itself, and the patent endangering of its sovereign existence and unity, all for the sake of propping up the colonial aims of Addis-Ababa regime and the strategic goals of the Soviet Union pertinent to African Horn region.

Consequent upon the new situation arising, and the likelihood of internationalising the war in the Horn precipitated as it is by some socialist countries the Central Committee of the SRSP took its historic decision of 13.11.1977, which by and large fundamentally changed the political relations between it, the USSR, and Cuba both of which unambiguously sided with the Abyssinian colonialism. At the same time this decision was to lay firm foundation for our further sovereign existence, and above all, the strengthening of the just struggles which the national liberation mo-

vements are waging in the serious attempt to wrest their right to self-determination from Ethiopian and to assure the victories which already have been won

Comrades, to momentarily let me pause here to comment on the reactionary interpretation of our historic decision, which was solely adopted for our defence. The reactionary forces give an interpretation to the effect that this decision implies the retreat from the socialist path which we have taken. This reactionary idea does not startle us since we got so accustomed at it being bandied about by our reactionary elements, who in the last 8 years spared no efforts to sabotage and misinterpret our revolutionary goals and strategies. But these last days the reactionaries are drumming up support within the masses for certain point of views which are antithetical and opposed to the programme of the SRSP. This amounts to the misconception that so far the Russians have been expelled, and the political relations with some socialist countries have woefully deteriorated it is only likely that there will be a retreat from the socialist ideology.

Really the reactionaries wrongly assess and size up situations insofar they could not distinguish between ideological principles and State policies. However to ask ourselves: Did we when we adopt the socialist ideology to carry favour with others? Or does it mean that a socialist revolution for its existence and validity has to gain an official admission from some particular country? The immediate answer to this is doubtlessly negative. Be that as it is, the point needs emphasising that a revolution is never exported but is born of the internal social contradictions which are generated in a given society. Correspondingly the Somali Revolution owes its birth to the highly difficult conditions and objective processes operative in our country and since then it has proved itself in the se-

rious tacking of socio-economic and political problems.

Furthermore the heightened political awareness and maturity is also a true testimony to its everlasting validity. In this context the establishment of GSCU, which in effect strengthens the party and society at large is a corroboration of sophisticated political consciousness. The revolution will never go back on its basic principles and the Commitments it has made to Somali nation. At this juncture when the revolution is further gathering momentum it once again reaffirms the sacred cause and goals to which it is irreversibly bound.

Comrades, deserving boundless and unforgattable thanks are the Arab and African countries who genuinely stoop with and aided the just struggle of the liberation movements of the Somali nation. The unstable situation obtaining in the African Horn is not likely to be confined to the region, and accordingly incumbent upon the various states of the world is the serious attempts on their part to give thought to ways and means of resolving it, since on this depends peace in our world, and particularly the security of the Horn, and the Red Sea which has exceptional importance for world Trade and communication lines.

As already spelled out we are informing the African countries that the situation in the Horn is directly concerning them since it touches upon the peacefulness, independence and unity of African countries, their cooperation and development. This therefore naturally entails the duty that is solution lies with them. Consequently we call upon our African brothers not to spare efforts in partaking as to how to find ways and means of solving the problem. We in the Somali Democratic Republic hereby express our readiness for inter-African mediations, of course conditional upon the Addis-

Ababa regime finding the courage to take part in a such mediation. Obviously the firm basis for resolving this conflict is dependent on the acceptance of the principles of independence and national right to self-determination as enshrined in the OAU rules and laws.

Historical experience incontestably admits that people who are striving for their freedom cannot be subjugated by the flexing of muscles and recourse to the barrel of the gun. The Abyssinian colonialists are day dreaming if for one minute they believe that by force of arms and pillage they can succeed in resolving the conflict between them and the liberation movement. The true resolution of the conflict in the Horn, first and foremost hinges on the exit of alien force who are internationalising the conflict, and immediately afterward for the parties to the conflict, e.g. the Western Somali Liberation front, Abbo, Eriteria and the Addis regime to come and sit down together to comprehensively and concretely discuss the relevant points comprising the conflict. The Somali government is fully prepared to shoulder its share of neighbourly and African responsibilities.

Obvious as the permanent aggressive designs of the Addis-abba regime are against the Somali Democratic Republic, and taking into account that this regimes aggression is caused by its utter inability to cope with the liberation movements struggle for which it cannot find satisfactory peaceful solution, yet the SDR is at any time ready to directly negotiate with the Addis regime and to convince it of the baseless and pointless accusations & imputations which it levels against us.

In as much as we have comprehensively dealt the long history of the Somali cooperatives movement, the revolution's objectives in building them up and the importance the party and State attach to them, and

taking into account the new situation confronting it let me come down to pinpoint the great value entailed in this conference of ours, and the great expectations which are .. by the Somali masses vis-a-vis the cooperatives role in this pressing times — I have already referred to the productive, political and social progressive dimensions.

Comrades the conference coincides with a time when the revolution has crossed over to the carrying out of one of the most fundamental articles in the first charter of the revolution. Therefore lying in front of you is a weighty matter which necessitates the arriving fruitful decisions in order to be able to masterfully and adequately play your great role, taking into consideration your earlier experiences. To elaborate on this point it is your task to effectively express the toiling masses continuing importance to the growth of your economic capacity and the improvement in our life.

In its other dimension the objectively determined task which the conference has to elucidate is firstly the realisation of the place which Somali cooperatives in the plane of the ideological and the theoretical struggle firmly based as it must be on the defence if the toiling masses interests, which inevitably means the combatting of reactionary ideas. The possibility successively calling this conference in fact lies in our internalisation and adoption of socialist scientific ideas which make realisable maximum democracy and most progressive development. As cooperative and integral members of the toiling masses it is a duty to sacrificingly and resolutely protect the system of ideas which defend and make possible working class interests.

Comrades finally I exhort the founding conference of the General Somali Cooperative Union to pursue its work in orderly, disciplined, and with revolutionary spiri-

ts, and furthermore to deliberate on the widest popular democracy, as fits the principle of democratic centralism which is intrinsically an integral component part of any progressive revolution.

If we go back to our revolutionary experiences we will all agree that our principle has been applied to practically all the forms of social and party life, in the administration of economic projects, and the cultural and political conditions of our country. The duty which continues to be of paramount importance, at the present stage we are in, is how to utilise and apply the principle of democratic centralism. And it is my belief that this goes into the essence of the duties falling upon this founding conference of the General Somali Cooperatives Union. For this reason the conference should be making use of this principle in all its aspects, in the debating proposals, arriving at conclusions, at giving reports and generally in the officially written material, as well as in the drawing up of the elections for the multifarious committees.

In conclusion I can only express greatest hope of success for the conference's extensive deliberations pertaining to the task of bracing itself for its role in the materialisation of social progress and the defence of the sovereign unity of the Somali nation. I have to also thank responsible heads and committees who did tremendous preparatory work for making this conference possible.

LET SOMALIA UNITE

LONG LIVE THE SRSP

VICTORY TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOMALI WEST ABBO AND ERITRIA.

TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS TO THE SOMALI COOPERATIVES.

The General Secretary's Closing Speech of the OSCM

Comrades,

I am highly privileged and gratified to be present here where you are concluding the 1st founding Congress of Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement (OSCM). In this Congress you have arrived at historical decisions which indisputably will be of great benefit to the Somali toiling masses, as a whole, and particularly for the various Somali Cooperatives which showed their readiness to realise the principles of the 21st October Revolution and the main contents of the SRSP programme.

What is to be specially noted, and this intimately struck me, was the efficient manner, in which the different preparatory tasks were carried out, the happy and interesting atmosphere prevailing while Congress was in session, and the enthusiasm and revolutionary will which congress clearly evinced all throughout.

Accordingly the few days we were involved in the Establishment of the OSCM acted as days generating hope, implanting confidence in ourselves, and illuminating for us the true path to progress, struggle and advance of the Somali toiling masses.

The value of this Congress is made all the more apparent by the fact that it coincides with a time when a bitter struggle is being waged by the Somali Nation in its persistent efforts to realise its sovereignty, unity and advance, which now has entered a new qualitative period, and in process being crowned with great success, in the endeavour to be fully free in the political, economic and social sphere.

If I touch upon the results of this Congress, it can with confidence

be stated that it brings in its wake boundless benefits as far as the improvement in the social conditions of the Somali society are concerned, in as much as this Congress has set down the work programme containing the spirit of the SRSP programme, which defines and correctly reflects the long cherished goals for which the Somali toiling masses struggled so tirelessly to see it adopted in the genuine realisation to radically transform, for the better, the conditions and standards of life of the Somali society.

What furthermore deserves better evaluation was the realisation on the part of the Congress that the programme and the law will be lifeless if the Central leadership structure fulfilling it is ignored. And that is why the variegated and multifarious committees, such as the national committee, the executive committee, and the inspection and auditing committee, have been elected.

I am only too confident that the Comrades that you have elected for the leading posts in those committees are the ones whom you bestowed your trust as deserving to be in the front ranks in the struggle to defend the Revolution, as well as in the advancement of the cooperatives goals.

The elected committees are charged with tremendous tasks of implementing and realising the aspirations of the toiling masses, as well as aiding training, mobilising and consolidating their unity with every step they take upon the delineated targets of the SRSP and the theory of scientific Socialism creatively applied to our specific conditions.

Comrades, as I have already re-

ferred to, the Somali cooperatives have attained a new level, which is characterised by its own conditions and peculiarities. And as such it is inordinately imperative that the Organisation fully, consciously, actively and in a revolutionary manner performs its historical tasks, which is exemplified by the recognition that the nation's progress hinges upon the raising of the productive capacity, by attaching utmost importance and priority to the satisfaction of social needs, since the raising of productivity is conducive to social transformation which in turn favourable acts upon human life.

That being the case it becomes incumbent upon us to lay great emphasis upon the tremendous raising of productivity as well as weathering through the numerous difficulties and obstacles, which the objective conditions lay before us, and moreover the ability to go through sacrifices in order to accomplish better and more qualitatively productive capacity and know-how.

In order to both improve the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of production it is required to be cognisant with the objective conditions and laws which govern the development of social production. Production is made possible by social cooperation, and participating in it, is the whole working class hence this necessitates a just system to be laid down.

The imperativeness of raising production is made all the more patent by the fact that it is you, your conscious belief as cooperative members, which will determine the methods and organizational work relating to the production process. The point above mentioned is tersely and categorically stated in the SRSP programme and on your part as cooperatives the task is its deeper appreciation and satisfactory implementation.

However the realisation of all cherished goals set by you is closely connected with a deeper un-

derstanding of the tasks to fulfill, and the setting down of a plan to efficiently undertake it. The plan is indubitably the key to the solution of problems; it is the harmoniser of the different aspects of the tasks, and furthermore is the criterion by means of which we can size up the fulfilment undertaken by the individual, group, and society as a whole.

For this very reason the cooperatives ought to invest great value in plans, and the planning of their tasks. Each and every cooperative has to make its own specific plan, in as much as principles of scientific socialism are founded upon an appreciation of the role of plans and their utilisation in the execution of all tasks. Plans under the principles of scientific socialism are an effective instrument to counteract the chaotic and targetless conditions, which are a permanent feature of the capitalist system.

What also chiefly contributes to higher productivity is the principle of socialist emulation. The role and importance of socialist emulation as I have repeatedly observed lies in safeguarding the interests of the toiling masses, and concurrently to consolidate the cornerstone of a socialist economy. The effectiveness and unsurpassable value engendered by socialist emulation has been proved by long processes of real life practices, and through this it has been enriched and made even more scientific.

If we really do all in our power to fully explore and tap the potentialities of the cooperative, and for this the Party is more than willing to embark upon, we will be duty bound to adequately utilise the will, enthusiasm and spontaneity of the masses. And the only way to exploit these is a serious endeavour to popularise and disseminate the ideas and practices of socialist emulation, throughout the regions, and this will in its turn strengthen the princi-

ples of self-reliance which the Revolution practically pursued for a long time.

The great value ingrained in socialist emulation is that it continues the self-help policies, and at the same time elevates to a higher stage the principle aforementioned. From today on the programme of self-help schemes have to form an integral aspect of planning; gain prior evaluation and be fitted into the necessary places, in particular the productive sector of the economy.

The Self-help schemes hitherto were seen in terms of the erection of buildings, beginning from now we have to cross over to the directly productive sector, i.e. the economy, the farms, fisheries, etc.

Comrades, socialist emulation has multifarious forms of applicability. The emulation can be either between, let us say, two factories manufacturing things along the same factory, two agricultural cooperatives; or if need be between two completely different institutions i.e. the agricultural and fishery cooperatives, even between two individuals working in the same institution.

All the points dealt with above are to the advantage of the spiritual awakening of the toiling masses who are represented by the cooperatives organisations, in their productive and design capacities. And in order to develop socialist emulation practices the organisations and the individuals who show an exemplary hardwork with regard to the production ought to correspondingly merit material and moral incentive, as a form of an encouragement.

Comrades, the other important factor which is directly relevant to your Union's capacity to perform its obligations is the strict adherence to discipline and a moral élan without which accountability to the people is lost, and as a result the maturity of the cooperative

movement is pushed further. The realisation of the multiple harms attendant upon laxity of discipline entails the onerous tasks, that every individual keeps to the discipline and a laudable moral standard, which the cooperative movement itself has to lay down, taking into account the translation in real life in the carrying out orders and the keeping to moral norms, the feeling of mutual respect and trust amongst members. The validity of the points above-mentioned are founded on the principle of criticism and self-criticism, which in turn are closely tied to better planning, higher productivity and successful constructive implementation of the cooperative movement.

Discipline and exemplary moral elan are the most difficult aspects to undertake in any task due mainly to the fact that they closely are related to the prerequisites of human existence. Every member of the toiling masses has to consciously internalise the categories of discipline and the concomitant moral elan corresponding with it. And to the extent of successful internalisation depends his contribution to the society of which he is a member.

Proceeding from the above assumption, discipline and its various precepts should not be initiated by compulsion or coercion, in fact a commitment and belief in them is the surest affirmation underlying its validity and efficiency. Be that as it may, any individual whose departure from discipline turns out to be harmful to task operation, and social life, deserves necessary steps to be taken against him, and these comprise the utilisation of corrective methods which point to the exemplary disciplinary practices he ought to keep to.

Calling for particular attention is the role control ought to play in as much as control helps us in the ascertainment of the scope and level of job execution, and further-

more meets the role in the correction of errors and mistakes which willingly or unwillingly might have been committed. Thanks to control we gain and accumulate experience, and improve our assessment of our available cadres, with respect to their strong and weak points, their know-how, dedication and enthusiasm.

Along the safe lines, auditing helps in the setting down of a correct accountancy system, the protection of cooperative property, the training and employment of cadres the avoidance of errors and generally the minimisation of the theft and embezzlement.

If the cooperatives do not continuously impose control over the execution of tasks, ascertain the conditions, and be reasonably conversant with work processes their isolation from individual enterprises, and lack of responsibility on their part is bound to ensue. Emanating from the stupendous importance of control flows the natural corollary that the cooperative movement, from now on, takes upon itself active participation in the control and ensurance of task implementation, administering and developing of production, and ought to show their ability at the harnessing of creative potentialities.

The only way in which this could gain a practical effectiveness is for both the cooperative movement and administration to ensure a balancing and reciprocal relationship, whereby each gives to other maximum opportunity in the lightening of respective tasks. In particular the economic organizations of the state are saddled with the historical task confronting them vis-a-vis the building and consolidation of the Somali cooperative movement, and in the process give a firm foundation to the all-sided assistance they are prepared to offer. Obviously this will be consonant with a radical revision of law N. 40 in the light of the new times and tasks.

Socialism most probably becomes a practical reality when the co-operatives fully participate in all the other productive tasks, and at the same time ascertain the results attained, and moreover consciously realise that destiny is tied to an efficient effecuation of their job in production.

The SRSP finds its base and support within the Somali toiling masses, and due to this it derives its ideology and thought from all the strata of the toiling masses. And it is this which clearly expresses the idea of the undeniable leadership of the rest of the society by the working class and cooperative members. This leadership role emanates from their position in the production process, to the extent that they are the main force creating the material basis of life, and the development of technology and social advance in the fulfilment of aspirations and aims.

Comrades, experience has taught us that every duty which we set for ourselves cannot by its volition carry itself out, but inevitably necessitates a corresponding knowledge and realisation toward facilitation of cooperative tasks: Consequently it is more than necessary to give continuous and permanent training to cooperative members, training to cooperatives fruit and which augments in the raising of both productivity and cultural and political awareness. In as much as the cooperatives are closely tied to production, and are entrusted with means and instruments of production, it stands to reason, that they involve their members in the organisation of work, and this can be improved by higher educational qualifications.

Now, then we are in the closing stages of the 20th Century when science and technology have reached high levels of maturity, and specialisation in multiple fields of knowledge has become a fact of life.

This fact involves the cooperatives to keep in line and abreast of the stupenous scientific and technological changes taking place. This undertaking will be done in conjunction with the SRSP, the state and other social organisations, and its *raison d'être* will be to derive maximum advantage from working class experiences in other parts of the World. At the same time the cooperatives ought to bear in mind the interests to defend, their class origin, their class enemies and the nature of the struggle to be waged, the conditions formerly lived under, the alliances to be created, and the methods of comprehensive analysis. For this, the cooperatives need to make the learning of scientific socialism a permanent feature.

Comrades, since the birth of the revolution inordinately difficult tasks and campaigns were embarked upon in the realisation of a fruitful alliance and cooperation of the Somali toiling masses.

An alliance amongst the working force is the foundation, and the best implement whereby unity of the progressive forces could be assured and moreover instils in the individual the attitude of mutual cooperation in the effeuation of tasks. Accordingly we have to do everything under our disposal to create a meaningful working relationship of the Somali cooperatives movement with other social organizations, such as the Somali Workers Union, Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Somali Democratic women's Union, and the armed forces, etc.

Comrades, I am exhorting in the full appreciation of the idea of cooperation, mutual sharing of property, raising of productivity, the protection of cooperative property, and the participation in the development of a national economy through which self-sufficiency and a sovereign, united and democratic Somali society could be created. At the sametime you ought

to be waging a stiff struggle against the opposing enemy, against the old order, such as tribalism, corruption, regionalism, shirking, nepotism, favouritism, self-seeking goals, and property mindedness, etc.

The other inescapable case in point to be borne in mind is the apposite realisation of our class aims and goals, which have gone through a long struggle against all types of colonialism, and under different exploiting classes. Accordingly a persistent duty on our part is the vigilant defence of the revolutionary gains, which accrued to the Somali toiling masses as a result of the advent of the 21st October, as epitomised by the first charter of the Revolution, the programme of the SRSP, and the presently drafted cooperative programme, all of which are grounded upon the unity and progress of the Somali nation.

I am also exhorting you to be ready to take a courageous part in the just, partriotic struggle which our country today is waging.

In the name of the Central committee of the SRSP, in the name of the Somali masses, and in my name, let me take this opportunity to express boundless gratitude, warm greetings and congratulations to the Somali toiling masses, in the hope of progress and everlasting gains.

LET US UNITE

LONG LIVE THE SRSP

VICTORY FOR THE SOMALI
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

SUCCESS FOR THE ORGANISATION
OF COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT.

The Death of a Revolutionary Patriot

Brig. General Ali Mattan Hashi has passed away on January of this year. The SRSP and the Somali masses felt deep sorrow over the miss of one of the founders of the 21st October Revolution. At the time of his death Jaalle Ali Mattan was a significant member of the C. C. of the SRSP, and previously he was a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council that liberated the Somali Nation from the yoke of neo-colonialism.

The patriotic struggle of Jaalle Ali Mattan didn't start with the foundation of the October Revolution. It has its roots deep in the initial years of the country's first liberation movement. Jaalle Ali joined the Somali Youth league party at the age of 17 in 1944. Within a year, he proved his ability and dedi-

cation to the national cause, so in 1945 he was elected as the secretary of the SYL at Sagag, Dhagaxbur District.

Accordingly, Jaalle Ali Mattan has taken a distinguished role in the liberation struggle of the Somali nation. Ali was one of the vanguards of «Ha Noolaato» struggle on 11th Jan., 1948 when the Somali liberation Movement fought against the colonial soldiers in Mogadishu.

Jaalle Ali was unique in his unchallengeable dedication and belief in the principle of Justice, human rights, love for the nation and sacrifice to the cause of liberty. Thus he never used to compromise on the fulfilment of such principles even if his life was endangered.

In regard to this, Jaalle Ali was nominated as the Chairman

of the SRC committee for justice in 1973. During this period a campaign for maintaining social justice had been carried out and Jaalle Ali Mattan was its prime mover.

On the other hand Brig. General Ali Mattan's Military career is recorded in a golden page in the history of the Somali military force, especially the air force. He was one of the first Somali Military pilots and since

then he has been endeavouring in the construction of the Somali Airforce for which he accomplished great tasks.

All in all it is inevitable for every nation to hail the deeds of its heroes and transmit their courageous directives from generation to another.

In line with this the Politbureau of the SRSP had, due to the death of Ali Mattan approved the decisions of a three day

mourning of the Somali Nation during which the National Flag had been flown half-mast.

The authorities of the Somali Nation as well as the masses were incessantly sending condolence messages, expressing their grief sorrow for the deceased, during the whole mourning period.

This depicts the ever valid truth of the saying : «A hero never dies».

THE RALLY OF THE SOMALI WORKERS AND PEASANTS SOLIDARITY DAY



Jaalle Siad addressing mass-rally staged in support of the resolutions of the SRSP central committee.

Four Years ago the 10th Jan. was celebrated as the solidarity Day of the Somali workers, and peasants and this occasion coincided this year with the establishment and creation of the organisations of the Somali cooperatives movement which is a new and strong impulse for the struggle of the Somali workers.

For this reason the 10th January of 1978 as the Solidarity Day of the all Somali Workers and peasants, as well as the creation of the organisation of the Somali cooperatives had attracted thousands of people representing the different strata of the Somali Workers and, social associations such as : the workers, the peasants, Armed For-

ces, the cooperatives, the Youth, the Women association etc.

This occasion was held at the Darwish square, which is where the national mass demonstrations takes place and in this gathering there were thousands of workers living in Mogadishu, the National Capital of the country. Each association was coming to the mass rally in a uniformed and in an ordered and disciplined manner. And their forces as well as their posters carrying Revolutionary mottoes show their Revolutionary feeling and National pride by which all Somalis and all good willing citizens has been captured with.

Thousands of toiling masses who filled the large Darwish square came with their highest emotion and feeling, when the leader of the Revolution Jaalle Siad, who always takes part in these mass rallies appeared before them. The Secretary General of SRSP was welcomed by applause and Revolutionary songs and then Jaalle Siad delivered his speech. Although the speech covered large area, still it can be divided into two-major parts:

a) The first part was concerned with the establishment of the cooperatives organisation, and Revolutionary objectives of the establishment of the social organizations as central mass organizations of the party. Jaalle Siad

pointed out the major objective of the Somali revolution as the **unification of the Somali people**, and coordination of their Capabilities in order to achieve the cherished goals, which we are after.

And this goal can only be achieved as Jaalle Siad pointed out when the masses become conscious, and from this springs the need for education of the masses and their mobilisation.

b) The second part of the President's speech was concerned with the very important period, which the history of the Somali people is undergoing today. He pointed out that the enemies of the people are wrong in their imagination that we cannot over-come the obstacles facing us today.

Denouncing those false ideas Jaalle Siad said, that the Somali people encountered many difficulties rather than those imagined ones, and that Revolutionary Somalia has overcome all these obstacles through unity, Revolutionary planning and hard will.

«As we over-come those, we are going to surmount this too» declared Jaalle Siad «Because we have the same ability on which we have overcome the past difficulties». Jaalle Siad reminded the masses the following Axiom saying that No United Force can either defeat or stop people fighting for their just cause. Lastly, the President reminded the Somali people the difficult fight and to endure this fight with courage and hard will as they have done always in order to give their enemies another lesson, that no body can defeat a United Somali People. Jaalle Siad in his final remarks has pointed out that productivity increase plays essential role in the struggle because struggle is not only gun-fight, but every body is in the struggle through the position he occupies in his

duty, and he will be accountable for the people.

For this reason, the President stressed that every body should increase his productivity in the National Economy and work more hours than the actual time, and this was accepted with cheers and applause.

Before the speech of the President, there was few words given by the different delegates of the various associations of the Somali toiling masses, who were represented in this histori-

cal mass rally. Among these are social organizations of the workers, youth, women and cooperative; and similar introductory remarks was given by members of the Armed Force. All these remarks were showing the Revolutionary feeling of Somali Worker's as well as the great Solidarity of the workers and peasants of the society. A special congratulations were given to the organization of the Somali cooperatives, whose establishment coincided with the solidarity day of Somali Workers and peasants.

SRSP Centrâl Committee Members Tour Regions.

At the middle of last month, members of the Central Committee of the SRSP made tours to all the regions of the country. Inspection tours are regularly made by the Central Committee to all parts of the country so as to constantly keep in touch with the conditions of the Somali people, the problems encountered and how regional and district authorities carry out their responsibilities.

Apart from these general objectives, the Party activities inspected by the Central Committee delegations during their tours include:-

1. How regional and district Party Committees and social organizations function and implement the principles of democratic Centralism.

2. How far is the decision of educating the Party members both politically and socially is being carried out.

3. Review of the method of selecting Party members.

4. Diciplinary code for Party members.

5. Inspection of how regional and distirct Party Committees and Party cells implement the decisions of the Central committee.

6. Inspection of Orientation Centre activities and Political seminars implemented in 1977.

7. How law No. 21 of 3.2.77 which stipulates the working together of the Government and Party is being carried out.

8. Economic developments made by the regions in 1977. This includes the funds allocated for the Central Government and local Governments; and the self-help projects.

9. The activities carried out in the region or district and the existing problems in the fields of livestock, agriculture, water, education, health, security and food distribution; preparation of the people for the defence of the country and the support provided to the Somali people struggling to liberate themselves from Abyssinian colonialism.

After finishing their tours, the delegations submitted their reports to the Central Committee.

Party Delegation Visit African Countries

Last year Delegations led by members of the CC of the SRSP toured several African countries. Among the members of the Central Committee who led the delegations were Jaalle Salah Mohamed Ali, Chairman of the Bureau for Foreign Affairs; Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mahmoud, Chairman of the Bureau for Economic Affairs and Jaalle Abdissalam Sheikh Hussein, Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs. The main objectives of the tour was to increase bilateral relations and co-operation between the Somali Democratic Republic and other African countries.

In the different places they toured, the delegations were given a warm welcome and hospitality by their African brothers.

The African people wherever they are believe in and value the valient struggle of the Somali people against colonialism and imperialism. Also they value the progressive steps taken by revolutionary Somalia with which it is overcoming underdevelopment, building a new society and defending its freedom and sovereignty. The people of Africa have long passed through colonial oppression and

now believe the inevitability of its destruction. Today they are aware of the true nature of the situation in the Horn.

They are much worried about the direct involvement of foreign powers in the Horn of Africa and the interference in the African Affairs.

The heads of the delegations delivered written messages to the leaders of the countries they visited and had also with them both mutual discussions on the brotherly relations between Somalia and their countries and the African affairs in general.

11th January Is Documented Twice In The Somali History

The occasion of 11th January was celebrated at all the orientation centres in the districts of the Republic. The party leaders told the masses the historical background and the importance of that day.

The ceremony of that occasion was held at all the orientation centres of the 14 districts of the banadir region. The members of the C.C. of the SRSP participated with the masses at the centres; and they delivered speeches about the struggle of the Somali freedom fighters to full independence.

As its known, 11th January is among the great historical days for the Somali freedom fighters. At the end of 1940's the United Nations sent a committee of 40 countries to Somalia, in order to analyse the situation and to know the stand of the Somali masses after a long conflict between the European

colonialists and the Somali freedom fighters.

Using their puppets, the colonialists organized demonstrations supporting their colonial policy.

The freedom fighters led by The SYL stiffened their opposition against the colonial manipulations and hence portrayed to the delegation that quest of the Somali people to full independence. The gallant freedom fighters confronted the colonialists and their protages killing a great number of the colonial troops.

Although numerous patriots like Hawa Tako died in this fighting yet the freedom fighters led by the SYL were decisively victorious. The U.N. delegation came to realize the situation after witnessing the struggle of the Somali people in order to attain full independence.

11th January was once again

documented in the Somali history in the year 1974, when the family law was introduced.

It didn't remain to be local law but it was the outcome of the revolution of the old custom on the Somali family. The main objectives of the revolution on this law is to respect the right of the Somali women and to modernize family relationship which leads to build healthy society.

On the occasion of 11th January, the party leaders delivered speeches at the orientation centres which discussed in depth the historical background of that day. The leaders put more emphasis on the struggle of the freedom fighters and reminded the masses that the struggle continues and currently it is in its toughest time. Thus, the leaders urged every Somali to be ready in order to fulfil his responsibility.



WORLD AFFAIRS

ERITREAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE



Eritrean freedom fighters

The Eritrean Liberation Movement has recently attained a new stage in its struggle against the Ethiopian occupation. The Liberation of many Eritrean towns and the seige imposed upon the main towns of Asmara, Assab and Musawa, has drawn the attention of politicians particularly those inte-

rested in African politics into the developments in the region.

Ever since the advent of the Eritrean Liberation movement in 1961, the Eritrean Revolution has gone through various stages. The Liberation movements constant catch word, has, however, always remarked the same: The Indepen-

dence of Eritrea. The problem of Eritrea has been viewed differently by the world forces. Certain peoples in Africa and the Arab world had perceived the Eritrean problem as a regional issue that has to be treated likewise. They hold that the cessation of Eritrea bears a similarity to minority nationalities that are bent upon a separatist aims which these peoples view as detrimental to the economic developments of the 3rd world countries.

The people who hold such views of the Eritrean case are surely missing the core of the problem in this particular issue. They seem to be quite unaware of the origin and development of the problem as well as the various historical stages it has passed through, a fact that has essentially to be taken into account.

Besides, one can not claim a comprehensive knowledge of the Eritrean case without a proper assessment of the development of the Eritrean people and the victories attained for the last 17 years of their armed struggle.

In this period, the Eritrean Revolution has been able through its glaring victories in the battle field to capture the international mass media as one of the most burning issues in the North Eastern parts of Africa and the Red Sea region.

The press representatives who had been to the liberated areas in Eritrea unequivocally testify to the growing support of the Eritrean people to its liberation movement struggle against the Ethiopian colonial occupation. The Eritrean people, furthermore, follow with great zeal and admiration the successes achieved by the ELF in both the political and Social fields.

Yet all these achievements notwithstanding, the Eritrean revolution seems to be presently passing through a rather critical stage of its development owing to the divisions between its liberation forces. These differences are of course surmountable. With an objective, genuine, honest and democratic dialogue, there is no reason at all why such differences cannot be settled among the various factions.

Undoubtedly, all the 3 Sections of the Eritrean liberation Revolution agreed upon the main and essential objective of liberating the country from the Ethiopian Colonial Yoke. They are also united in that armed struggle is the sole means of attaining that objective. Their basic differences is the system envisaged by each for the economic and social development of the Eritrean people.

The Strategic position which Eritrea occupies as an important waterway enjoining the East and the Western countries, its vicinity of the richest Oil wells in the World, makes that country a spot for international contention. Imperialism and Zionism have always had a wolfish eye on that small country.



Children take part in the Struggle

This makes it quite imperative for the liberation forces of Eritrea, in the face of such constant threat and for the early liberation of their country, to join ranks and establish a strong militant national Unity. The ultimate Victory of the Eritreans is certain; but the time factor will mainly depend on the fulfillment of this imperative requisite.

In this context, the recent meeting between the popular front for the liberation of Eritrea and the Revolutionary council of the ELF in Khartoum in which they discussed the best ways and means of effecting unification between them was indeed a heartening move, that corresponds to the aspirations of the Eritrean peoples. The third section, the popular forces of the

ELF, is very likely to join the dialogue soon.

The main reason why the main cities have not been liberated so far and the independence of Eritrea not declared is mainly due to the division of the liberation forces of the Eritrean Revolution and the absence of a congenial form of national Unity amongst them. Although this state of affair, if it continues to remain unresolved, will definitely delay the independence of the country, yet it can never prevent it.

The people of Eritrea have since a long time made it quite clear that they wish to live freely and peacefully in their country, if granted their inalienable national right to independence. This is the only way peace can prevail in the area.

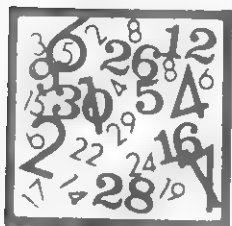
THE LAND .. THE PEOPLE .. AND THE STRUGGLE

The Strategic position of Eritrea, being situated at the Southern gate of the Red Sea, and the outlet into the Indian Ocean, has given a special historical and social significance to that part of the world since a long period.

- «Tuhutmas III» had established the centre of Orlis along the Eritrean coast so as to defend his naval fleet in the Red Sea, at a time he was in competition with the «Phoenicians». Alexander the great had also plunged into the scene by engaging in the battle between the French and the Kingdom of Axum, siding with the latter. His final aim had, however, been to liquidate the Turkish influence in the Red Sea and the Indian who had captured Yemen.
- With the defeat of King «AL GHORI» in 1509 the whole regime fell under two different powers: The Portuguse established their way in the Indian Ocean and the Turks in the Red Sea Area, landing at the port of Assab in 1557.
- In the 19th Century the Dynasty of Mokamed Ali in Egypt sought to extend its powers to the whole regime, starting from Masawa.
- All these events and consecutive competitions verify clearly that Eritrea had never fallen at any time under Ethiopian rule.
- In 1890, the Italians captured Eritrea and made it a colony, after defeating the tribes and Sultans of that country on account of their military superiority. The Ethiopians had before them failed miserably to get control of Eritrea by might. The Italian Government had then introduced in Eritrea a somewhat relatively modern administration and a police force. Many Italians were brought into Eritrea who engaged in commerce, and crafts-work.
- After Italy fell under the fascist rule, the new system introduced in Eritrea factories, roads, railway lines, Sea Ports in order to consolidate its colonial influence in the area.
- Fifty years later, after having suffered miserably of both racial and social oppressing at the hands of the Italians, Eritrea unfortunately fell under the colonial domination of the British. That was immediately after the 2nd World War.

- In 1943 the first political institutions in Eritrea came into light. There emerged the «Patriotic Association» which was later divided into the Islamic Organisation (a Pro-British which later changed to the Italians) and the «Unity Party» (Closely Linked with the Ethiopians). Apart from these two main political organisations, there were some other minor ones that fascinated between them like «The Liberal Progressive Party» and «New Eritrea» etc.
- The Italians were defeated in the 2nd World War. The fate of the Italian colonies had to be decided by the United Nations. These countries were Libya, Somalia and Eritrea. The U.N.O. recommended that Eritrea be annexed to Ethiopia. The British, however, suggested the division of Eritrea between Ethiopia and the Sudan so that it could ultimately control the Eastern regions and the coastal zone. The Soviet Union and some other countries proposed the complete liberation of Eritrea.
- Finally the UNO resolved (Resolution 390 5/a) that Eritrea get into a federation with Ethiopia on the basis of Self-autonomous and with due respect to its political and social institutions, its culture, languages and religions.
- In 1962, Emperor Haile Sellasie in Violation to all the federal Union condition annexed forcibly Eritrea into his empire to become no more than a regional constituent.
- In Sept. 1961, after all political peaceful means failed to redress the wrong meted to the Eritrean national right by Emperor Haile Sellasie, the Eritrean Revolution became the only means of liberating the country.
- The Eritrean Revolution today comprises of «The Eritrean Liberation Front» with its 3 Various groups — the Revolution Council» «The popular Front for the liberation of Eritrea», and «The popular forces of — ELF».
- In 1977, there was a meeting between the 3 factions of the ELF with the main objective of reaching a form of unification between them. The dialogue still continues; but all signs indicate that it would be before long that an agreement will soon be reached towards this end.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



JAALLE SIAD VISITS IRAN AND OTHER GULF STATES



of peace and that those who are creating troubles in the area should be confronted with all possible means in order to counteract any possible dangers that may be created by them», Jaalle Siad said.

Adding that during his middle-East tour, he emphasised the need for Arab Unity and solidarity in dealing with the middle East Issue. «Despite difference of opinion among Arab leaders, I am optimistic that in the end this will be overcome since the objective is to safeguard Arab interests and secure peace in the area» the President said.

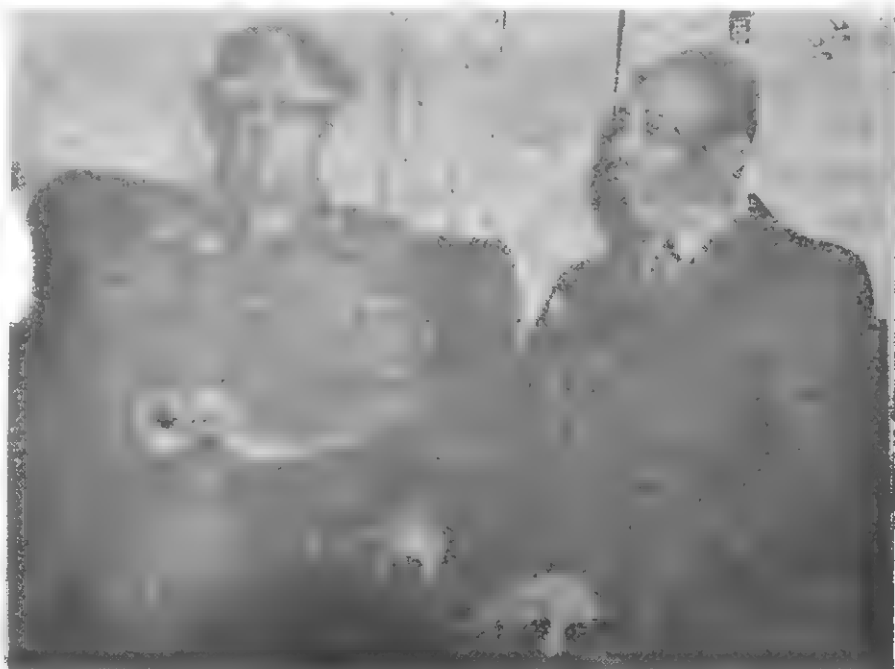
The SDR President, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, wound up a tour which took him to Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Oman on the 5th of January.

Upon his return to Magdishu the President told reporters that he discussed with the leaders of the countries he visited on bilateral relations, the situation in the Horn of Africa and other International issues. The President added that his talks with these leaders were highlighted with identity of views on all the matters discussed.

«The leaders with whom I have met were of the view that

the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa region should be maintained as zones

The Horn of Africa issue was seen as being solely the co-



ncern of the Addis regime and the various nationalities fighting to liberate themselves from Abyssinian colonialism, he continued.

He said that the World is concerned with the foreign intervention in the wars of liberation reigning in the Addis colonized territories, and added that it is clear to every one that all peoples should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

President Siad and a delegation accompanying him made similar visit at the closing of January to Saudi Arabia, YAR and Jordan.

In a press statement on the 23rd of January shortly before wounding-up his stay in Riyadh Jaalle Siad declared that there is no conflict between the SDR and Abyssinia and that the issue is not a border problem left by colonial powers but on the contrary it is a colonial question. «The sad story of Abyssinian colonial expansion is well-documented in history» he explained.

«The genuine liberation forces of Western Somali, Abbo and Eritrea are struggling for their rights of self-determination against the Abyssinian colonial force», President Siad stressed. He said the question of territorial integrity is not applicable in this issue as the principle of self-determination has not been exercised here. The SDR condemned the interference of the Russians and their allies by pouring into the area huge quantities of sophisticated weapons beyond the needs of the Addis regime and

the introduction of extraneous troops into Abyssinia. «The Russian aim is to completely suppress the just struggle of the liberation movements for independence, to launch an attack on the SDR and then control the strategic areas of the Red Sea and the entrance to the Indian Ocean», he continued. «The the Russian aim, presents a greater danger not only to the countries in the area but also to those who have interests in the region and the World Peace», he stressed. The President said the indecision of the Western countries would encourage and enable the Russians and their allies to succeed in their objectives and to create a dangerous situation in the area». If peace is to be guaranteed, it is an urgent necessity to stop Russia and her allies the blatant interference in the internal affairs of the African people», he declared. «If those steps are not effected promptly all those who show concern about the matter may find it too late to contain the issue», He warned.

The President expressed concern over the serious developments taking place in Addis Ababa where the Abyssinian authorities have misused the OAU and its secretariate. «A case in point is the recent release by the Abyssinian news media that the OAU secretariat has condemned Iran, simply because that country has announced that it will support Somalia if attacked. Worthy of condemnation by all Africa is the unprincipled and shameless interference by the Russians and some of its allies and their conspiracy against independent African countries. The SDR again calls upon all African countries to expose and condemn such wanton interference in the internal affairs of African countries», Jaalle Siad said. Adding that the only way to find a permanent solution is to allow the peoples of those areas to determine their future through internationally supervised referendum.



Western countries voice concern in the Horn affairs

Representatives from the United States, Britain, France West Germany and Italy met late January in Washington to see what can be done towards ending the conflict in the Horn of Africa through peaceful negotiations.

Earlier, U.S. President Jimmy Carter expressed concern over the deteriorating situation in the Horn and accused Russia and Cuba of fuelling the conflict by pouring sophisticated arms and military personnel into the hands of the Ad-

dis-Ababa Regime in its fighting with the liberation fronts.

He saw a danger that these countries (Russia and Cuba) would commit their own forces «Transforming the conflict from a local war to a confrontation with broader strategic implications.» The President called for a non-interference of outside powers in the affairs of the Horn of Africa and that the sides concerned meet to search for a just and peaceful settlement to the problem.

The Somali Democratic Republic welcomed Mr. Carter's

peace moves and reiterated its readiness to fulfill its responsibilities as a neighbouring African country in a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. Moreover, the Somali Ambassador in Washington Jaalle Abdullahi Addow, repeated Somalia's appreciation for President Carter's suggestions for a negotiated settlement.

Continuing its intransigent attitude, the Abyssinian Regime, however reacted negatively to the peace calls and expressed its rejection to negotiations.

1st CONGRESS OF THE OSCM CLOSED

The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare officially closed the 1st congress of the General Association of the Somali Cooperative Movements at Police Academy in Mogadishu early January. Jaalle Siad also participated in the opening ceremony of the congress when he expressed his delight at opening this historical Congress for the Foundation of the Organisation of the Somali Cooperative movement «OSCM» and said their illustration of the revolutionary achievements of the country.

The Congress which was in progress from the 6th to the 8th of January elected three committees, namely the National Committee, the Executive Committee and the Auditing and Inspection Committee. The 9 me-

member Executive Committee consists of a Chairman, Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali, who is also a member of the SRSP Central Committee, two Vice-Chairmen and six secretaries. The five member Auditing and Inspection Committee will be chaired by Jaalle Abdullahi Hersi Samatar.

In his closing address, the Secretary General of the SRSP declared his appreciation of the congress which he said is in line with the programme of the SRSP. «This elected Committees are entrusted with the responsibility of realising the objectives of the working masses and their leadership is of paramount importance in the implementation of the adopted programme and statute», he said. The President also pointed out the need for the cooperative

movement to gear their activities and production to the transformation being undertaken in the country, stressing the necessity for the cooperative movement to make every effort to boost production so as to attain self-sufficiency. Jaalle Siad said that planning is the tool for pinpointing ones development strategies and as such emphasis should be placed to its formulation. On socialist emulation, he continued that it further promotes the principles of self-help schemes which the revolution has implemented and added that self-help schemes should be given due importance in formulating development plans. «Self-help schemes should be introduced to the productive sectors of the economy such as industries, agriculture, fisheries and others», he went on. The Secretary General urg-

ed the concerned government bodies to extend a helping hand to the cooperative and disclosed that Cooperative Law No. 40 will be reformulated in accordance with the new statute of the Cooperative Movement.

Jaalle Siad touched on the indispensability for the cooperative movements to keep abreast with technological and scientific innovations. He also underlined that the successful implementation of various cam-

paigns was due to the cohesive solidarity and cooperation of the working masses.

In the last session of the congress the programme and statute of the OSCM were approved.

CUBAN POW INTERVIEWED



«The Russians, Cubans and others supporting the Addis Regime Colonial troops cannot face the gunfire of the Western Somali, Abbo and other liberation forces struggling for the liberation of their territories», this was disclosed by Orlando Carlos, one of the Cuban soldiers captured by WSLF in the battle for Harar on the 22nd of January 78.

Speaking to newsmen, Carlos declared that the Cuban soldiers fighting along with the Abyssinian colonial troops in their unjust war, contrary to their wishes forced to take part in the war. He further declared that the WSLF fighters inflicted heavy losses in both men and material on the unholy Russo-Cuban Abyssinian alliances in the battle for Harar. Their

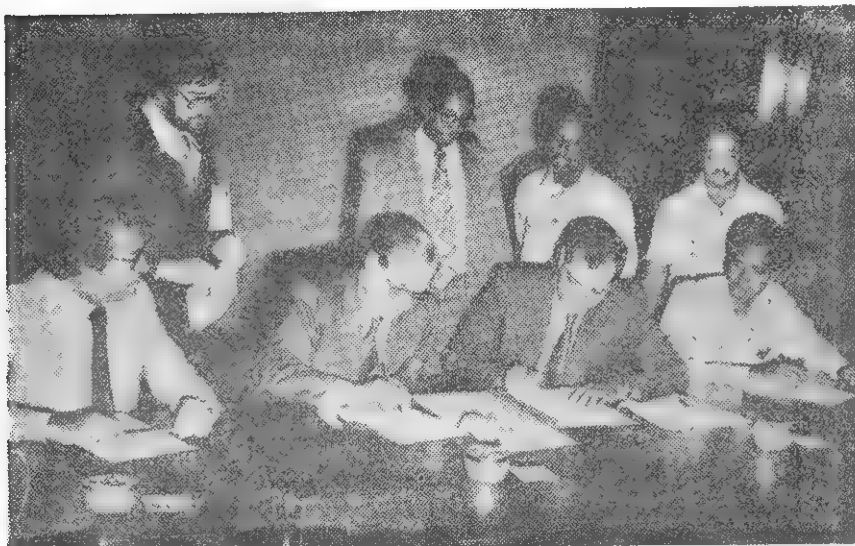
total defeat demoralised them even further, he added. Mr Carlos said that the Horn of Africa problem cannot be ended by way of fighting and added that peaceful negotiations and the recognition of the rights for self-determination of those fighting for their liberation could only end the conflict.

«The Addis Regime should come to round-table peace negotiations without blinding itself to the rights of the peoples under its colonial yoke», he stressed. He told the reporters that the Abyssinian colonial soldiers in Harar and the inhabitants of Harar had no relations by way of culture, religion and language.

Mr. Carlos pointed out that during his stay in Harar, he had observed the liberation front and its relations with the people, «whether a nomad or a peasant, they acted in unity, fought in unity and mutually co-operated in ousting the Abyssinian colonisers from their territory, he said and went on to say that as a result they have defeated the illegitimate Russo-Cuban-Abyssinian alliance. He also disclosed that his unit was led by Lt. Nicholas, a Cuban Military officer.

Mr. Orlando Carlos was born in Cuue and attended a military Academy in Havana, where he had stayed for three years.

EEC economic and educational assistance to Somalia discussed



The signing of the Somali — EEC Agreement

The EEC delegation led by Mr. Hanswirth, the Assistant Director General of the European Development Fund of the European economic community (CEDF/EEC) was received on 13th Jan. by the SDR Vice-President Jaalle Major-General Hussein Kulmie Afrah in his office.

The Vice-president and the leader of the delegation discussed in detail EEC economic and educational assistance to the SDR in compliance with the Lome convention.

The arrival of the delegation follows the recent visit of the SDR Vice-president Jaalle Kulmie to four Western European countries.

Present on the occasion were officials from the state planning commission, Somali Ambassador to the EEC Headquarters in Brussels and the EEC representative in Somalia.

Official talks opened on 1st February between the Somali Government and the EEC delegation.

Representing Somalia in the four hours talks were the Chairman of the state planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib

Ahmed, the SDR Ambassador in Brussels and other officials.

The talks were centred on EEC financial projects in the country and other aspects of co-operation between the two sides.

The Delegation was also accorded a reception by the Chairman of the SRSP economic Bureau, Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud. In their meeting with the economic Bureau Chairman the delegation held discussions on matters pertaining to the country's economic situation and co-operation with the EEC. The discussions also evolved on the development of economic capacities of public Cooperations and the promotion of their marketing capabilities. They further discussed the possibilities of EEC assistance in the Development schemes and personnel training.

On the 2nd of February the Somali Democratic Republic and the EEC signed an agreement on economic co-operation. The agreement included clauses by which EEC is to assist Somalia in completing unfinished developmental projects in the country and training of per-

sonnel. The agreement also included technical Co-operation between the two sides.

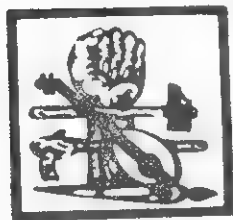
The chairman of the national planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib signed on the Somali side while the assistant Director-General of EEC European Development Fund, Mr. Hanswirth signed on the EEC side.

The EEC delegation wound up their visit to Somali on the 3rd of February.

Negotiations on financial and technical cooperation took place in Mogadishu from 30th January to 5th February between a delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany, headed by Dr. Willi Ahmann, under-secretary in the ministry of economic co-operation and a delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic, headed by Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed, Chairman of the state planning commission. The negotiations took place in a friendly atmosphere.

As a result of the negotiations, the Government of the FRG has allocated an amount of DM 22 Million for an agricultural irrigation project near Mogadishu in the Juba Valley. Under the technical co-operation programme, the Water Development Agency, the nomad settlement programme, agricultural Development, Somali Airlines and the Somali Broadcasting service are to be promoted in particular with an amount of DM 12.7 million.

The Government of FRG is making available in 1978 a total of DM 53 million for financial and technical Co-operation with the Somali Government. The two sides agreed to concentrate future co-operation on the fisheries sector and the development of the Juba valley.



CULTURE AND ARTS

THE ROLE OF SOMALI WOMEN IN CULTURE



As feminist movement in world wide scale is today engaged more than any time before, in the struggle to accupy their proper place in the society. In so far that they demonstrate through the fight for their rights that they are equal to men in potentialities and in the attainment of greater advances in all dimensions of life. That being doubtlessly the case there are countless eminent number of women who have immensely contributed to enrichment of science, philosophy, arts and literature.

The Somali women are the ones who before, and upto now, carry out the tasks closely pertaining to vital household decorations and utensils. Furthermore they do not confine themselves to the utilitarian aspects of house hold implements, but give an artistic touch and refinement to this household implements.

To a great extent the Somali women are by far superior to their male counterparts in the artistic engraving of domestic material. With regard to all household implements, though we have not clear and incontrovertible evidence still there are strong assumptions partaining to the fact that it is Somali women who invented, and further developed the above mentioned implement decorations and engravings.

The historical role our women played in decorative arts was not the only one they made contributions to, but also accomplished considerable successes in the field of literature. Over and above the ordinary household chores they specialised in composing melodious songs relating to their multifarious, and varigeted functions. The melodious folklore songs had their roots in the social consciousness of the mas-

ses. In fact those folklore songs encompassing all dimensions of life were an apt reflection of the spirit of the times, and accordingly could not be assumed to be the making of anyone individual, however versatile. In as much as most of these songs were pertinent to tasks intimately held by women, there is no doubt that women highly influenced that particular collective consciousness. Not only have they contributed to folk literature but women also have played an equal role in other fields of literature comparable to that of famous names who distinguished themselves.

Numerous are the renowned female poets who attained a distinguished place in the field of literature. The majority of them had their talents cultivated and their character moulded in the first half of the current century, during the national liberation struggle against the foreign colonial powers, and still they are in the Vanguard role. To cite but few of these highly acknowledged temal poets who have had an inspiring effect upon the freedom fighters are Fatima Hersi Ahbane, Halima Sofe, Hawa Jibril etc.

All these facts not-with-standing, the Somali public opinion yet finds it quite difficult to assure that the women can at all rank as equals with their male partners as far as verse composition is concerned. Since a very long time, the General public has took it for granted that such types or categories as «Gabay, Geeraar» which are regarded in the forefront of Somali Verse literature or «the hees



Women using umbrella in a folk-lore dance.

and the» «Dhaanto» that immediately occupy second place All these categories are some how indisputably associated with men. On the other hand «the buraanbur» is accepted as a purely female affair. To speak of a man writing «buraanbur is rather unthinkable or in fact derogatory to this character.

If this has not been the case, why don't we have female names in this field going as far back as the days of Rage Ugas, Qamman, Salaan, Ali Dhuux and the others who attained pinnacles in the world of Somali literature?. For all purposes, we cannot deny the existence of female poet's who had been as good as their male counterparts even in the era of Rage Ugas; but owing to the position of women which was considered inferior at that time kept their names in oblivion.

This state of affairs «however, is not going to last long. The historical development of the society is definitely going to put an end to it, or give it another more advanced form. Even today, when we view things soberly we discover that the women are by and large occupying a more appropriate position in the society. Of course this is first and foremost due to their unobtaing struggle which brought them recognition.

As an integral and complementary part, the recognition of their role is dependent upon the attainment of their emancipation and full equality with the men. This is absolutely interlinked with the degree of womens struggle for emancipation along with the struggle of the democratic forces of the Society.

This clarifies the fact that the repression of women and the belittling of their role is a characteristic of backwardness, as much as this emancipation and the recognition of their role as being equal to that of men is aguage of how advanced the society is.

The resolutions passed by the SRSP and the decreess enforced by the government to equate the social status of women to that of the men is of course, in line with the revolutionary trend of history. And to this effect, the role of the Somali Women in the cultural field has been enhanced. This being the case, the bitter reality still remains that a wide sector of the population still goes on looking down upon women as inferior to the men. It is also true that as yet the women are still by far behind the men in such fields as arts and literature. This is quite evident from the dispersity in the number of women who have produced any work

of literature or are presently engaged in writing of novels, features, theatrical plays, short stories, music, painting etc.

This irrefutable truth makes it incumbent upon us all men and women to struggle hard in advancing the process of women's emancipation that seems to be moving at an appreciable swing.

The executive Committee of the Somali Democratic women organization has recently took steps that will definitely have a positive impact upon the promotion of our arts. From 1-17 January 78, the various districts of the Benadir region have witnessed a folklore competition staged by the women organisation. Prior to this welcome move, there had been the establishment in almost all the districts of the country of such bodies as the womens section for arts and cultural promotion. Amongst the first tasks these sections accomplished were the revival of the traditional material dresses and costumes. In their fanciful attires, those groups of women would take both in the celebrations of material anniverseries demonstrations or other festivals.

The arts competition between the women in the various districts, as the secretary of arts and culture of the women organisation asserts, did not only aim at improving the women's standards in these spheres, but also as a means of mobilising the women section of the population for combating illiteracy and improving their appreciation of arts and culture.

The first part of this competition which was in the sphere of folklore dances took place in the orientation centres of «Shibis» «Bondhere» and «Weberi».

The 14 districts of Benadir region were divided between these

3 centres; 4 districts in Shibis and 5 each in the other two. The three winner groups were the «Abdula-ziz», «Bondhere», and «Wadajir» groups.

Then those three groups later met in the finals at Shingani Orien-

tation Centre. In this final round, Bondhere group came out victorious. This competition which was highly appreciated by the general public will be followed by other events to be held on a national level on the occasion of the forthco-

ming international day of women - 8th March 1978.

It is natural that these forthcoming cultural events will definitely produce new talents and bring fresh personalities into the limelight there by boosting the rôle of women in our Social development.



HISTORICAL STAGES IN PAINTINGS.

By Rufalo

Ever since the evolution of human society in our planet, man was bent on communicating his ideas to his fellow beings in the easiest possible means. This communication depended upon the level of development of human knowledge and the modernisation of the techniques utilized for such purposes.

Language has served as the best means utilised by man in the practical dissemination of human experience and knowledge.

The Language inherited by son from father was the earliest device used as means by man to communicate the human experience and knowledge from generation to generation.

This method, supposedly, the most ancient means of transferring information and experience was utilized by a certain section of the human society more than others. That historical phase came to be known as the era of the «Oral tradition».

This earlier oral stage, later in the process of human development was supplemented by the improvement and utilization of memory. The stage of human development of this aspect of reality had its own specific peculiarities.

Many such old paintings were discovered on mountain tops.

The method of preservation of such picture carvings and its graduation is known as «Rupesor» called thus due to the fact that the paintings bore lines and stripes made on the surface of mountains. The main purpose of these paintings were to inform whoever came to these areas that there had lived people with both knowledge and property.

Most of the paintings or inscriptions on the stones, clay pots, kettles etc. Were mainly the pictures of animals such as Oxen, horses, elephants, and other animals which that particular community herded or hunted. Moreover, these paintings more often than not used to indicate fortune-telling intended to bring prosperity to the locality. This has been confirmed by many scientists although they may differ in interpretation.

The «Rupesor» which is one of the oldest forms of inscriptions was also used as a means of exchange or as currency. In our contemporary history this habit is still prevalent in some areas in Central and Latin America, and Africa.

Between 3000 - 3500 B.C. the Middle East Region has seen the establishment of two major civilizations: The Egyptian and «Mesopotamian Civilization» which sprang in the river Nile and the

Tigres and Euphrates (The land between the two rivers). These two great civilizations have since had a that time humanity had not known any written language. Therefore the people resorted to the natural objects as symbols to help them foresee events and comprehend ideas etc., so as to remind oneself and others of their true meaning such as: man needed to keep record of the number of animal stocks in his possession, the days of the month remarkable events he encountered at a particular place or particular memorable time.

In our contemporary history this period is best represented by the monuments that were erected ages ago. The oldest of such monuments are to be found in England. Many other man-made monuments which are not engraved are today found in Palestine and some African countries. This period had also seen the emergence of such implements as knotted ropes various designs of belts, signs and other marks, wooden sticks cut in various lengths and different bearings. What is of specific interest is the need for deeper study of the uses to which these articles are put to, in the contemporary era.

The stone age (400,000 to 3,800 years B.C.) had seen the introduction of stone carved implements widely used by the human society for multipurpose functions.

At this historical phase, pictures were inscribed on stone objects which were used as information media. Some of the first hand paintings went beyond the stone age period a remarkable imprint in the development of the human civilization that followed. They have laid the bases and the foundation of a written language, which became the most essential means of communication.

The history of «written language» is divided into three stages:

1. Pittography
2. Ideography
3. Phonetic

Let us now give a brief definition to each of these stages.

PITTOGRAPHY

This stage emerged with the formation of «Clan» or «Tribe» which found it expedient to have certain signs or objects to govern their lives as traditional laws and tribal customs. The continuation of a number of inscriptions became a written version known as the «Pitographic». The ideas we-

re represented by a number of pictures punctuated by certain small signs.

IDEOGRAPHIC: This stage began 3000 years before the birth of Christ. The means of communication in this stage were signs and pictures which were representatives of certain ideas or information. So it constituted an advanced and easier method of communication since each particular sign conveyed a full meaning by itself. Besides, ideography was gradually gaining development and variety in forms

Amongst the first, was the hieroglyphics invented by the Egyptians. This was a continuation of two forms. The first example used for the interpretation by priests and religious men and often inscribed on the prodigious monuments and temples. This seems to be more detailed and better advanced than the normal wood engravings and others such as marble lined articles.

There was another form which had fewer characters and seemed to better serve the purpose of

the general public. It was also more easily understood by the ordinary people.

The writing that was used by the people in the Mesopotamian plain at that time was called «Cuneiform» so named since all the letters looked like a sharp edged instrument. The ideographic phase seems to have given place now to other forms more modern and convenient. And experts in this say that the Chinese script is today the closest to the «ideographic» form.

PHONETIC

This is the most modern method used in the present stage of human history. Every word is made of various sounds which when combined together convey the meaning of the intended ideas. It is the method of conveying information by way of speech. This is internationally known the era of the «Alphabets».

In coming issues of Halgan we continue to discuss further dimensions of the present topic.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Statute of the organisation of Somali Co operatives Movement

The Organization of Somali Co-operative Movement is a democratic mass movement reflecting one of the main achievements of the the October 21st 1969 Revolution currently led by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Following the birth of the Socialist Revolution, serious efforts have been undertaken to emancipate the Somali masses from the long period of exploitation, suffering and injustices perpetrated upon them by feudalism and capitalism, in colonial and neo-colonial forms.

Among the main objectives of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, under the wise guidance of its Secretary General, Jaalle Siad, is the policy of leading the Somali nation to economic self-sufficiency and general prosperity.

The movement of Somali Co-operative Organizations derives its fundamental principle from scientific socialism. One of its main objectives is the creation of an economic base for the promotion and protection of the interests and welfare of the members of the co-operatives, and the improvement of their cultural and general living standards.

The Organisation also aims at the transformation of its membership into useful citizens who can actively participate in the economic development of the country, in the proper exploitation of its natural resources, so that we may attain economic self-sufficiency and

there by elevate the international stature of our country.

The Organisation of Somali Co-operative Movement will group together the poor and other disadvantaged classes who shall combine their human and material resources for their common good. The Organisation will vigorously combat:-

1. All forms of exploitation.
2. All policies opposed to the interests of the co-operatives.
3. Tribalism and all reactionary forces and their agents who exploit tribalism.
4. All propaganda and any other activities made to hamper the implementation of the policies of the Party or impede the progress of our Scientific Socialist Revolution.

The Movement of Somali Co-operatives Organisations will utilize science and modern technology in order to bring about qualitative as well as quantitative improvements in its members production, it shall strive for the industrialisation of co-operative production as intimated in the Party policies which aim at the general improvement of production techniques. Through the proper use of science and modern technology, the organisation plans to promote a reduction in imports, increases in exports while fighting against black marketeering and inflation:-

PART. 1

Article 1

THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT:

Is the central organization for all types of cooperatives in the Somali Democratic Republic.

THE GENERAL CONGRESS:

Is the highest authority of the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE:-

1. Is the Supreme organ of the organisation of Somali Cooperative Movement during the interval between any two General Congresses.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:-

Is the highest executive authority of the Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement during the interval between any two sessions of the National Committee.

Article 2

EMBLEM AND SEAT OF THE GENERAL ORGANISATION,

1. Organisation of the Somali Co-operatives Movement shall have its seat in Mogadisho the capital of the Somali Democratic Republic and shall have the power to establish branches in all the regions, districts, and villages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

2. The Organisation shall have an emblem of its own.

Article 3

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GENERAL ORGANISATION

It shall be the responsibility of the Organisation:-

1. To prepare and supervise the production plans and investments of the Organisation of the Co-operatives.

2. To prepare co-operative plans aiming at the utilization of the available manpower and technological resources, and in co-ordination with national plans.

3. To assist factories and agencies of co-operative organizations in the regions districts, and villages so that they may increase their knowledge of science, industry, progress of the modern technology and the general progressive experience, drawing on the guidance of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and state organs.

Article 4

1. MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership here means both individual and organization membership. All existing co-operative organizations as well as these that will be formed in the future and registered legally may become members of the Organisation of Somali Co-operative Movement.

2. Membership in co-operative organisation in agriculture, livestock, small factories and workshops, handicrafts, fishing, forestry, consumer goods and construction shall be confined to these workers who are engaged in the said fields, and who are at the same time ready to participate in the activities of the co-operatives.

Article 5

DUTIES OF MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION

Any individual or organisation that is a member of the General Organization of the Co-operatives is required :

1. To accept and firmly believe in the program and law of the co-operatives.

2. To abide by the resolutions and directives of the General organisation of the co-operatives and superior authorities.

3. To implement with full sincerity the responsibilities which the General Organisation may designate to it.

4. Individuals to sacrifice, if necessary, their time, property and even their very existence for the interests of the co-operatives, and to maintain high moral standard, while at the same time constantly learning the progressive methods of production.

5. To participate in the administrative affairs of the co-operatives and strengthen and safe-guard the property of the co-operative.

Article 6

RIGHTS OF MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS

Individuals and organizations that are members of the General Organisation of Co-operatives shall be entitled:

1. To participate in the deliberations and passage of resolutions in the GENERAL CONGRESS with one vote per member.

2. To vote and run for elective offices.

3. To present his/her ideas clearly and without any fear at the meetings of the members of the Organization.

4) To occupy any point in the organization if elected or nominated to it.

5) To the protection of his/her interests relating to work and living in general by the Organizations.

6) To employment by the co-operatives and to just remuneration according to his/her input.

7) To an equitable compensation the assets of the cooperatives for the tools of production which he/she contributes to the cooperatives.

8) To receive assistance, if need should arise, from the assistance fund of the cooperative.

PART TWO

Article 7

STRUCTURE

The Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement may consist of the existing cooperative organizations and those that may be formed in the future:

1. Organization of Agricultural Cooperatives.

2. Organization of fishing Cooperatives.

3. Organisation of Consumer and Services Cooperatives.

4. Organisation of Livestock forestry and Incense Cooperatives.

5. Organisation of Factories and Handicraft Cooperatives.

6. Organisation of Construction and Transport Cooperatives.

Article 8

STRUCTURE OF THE HIGHER ORGANS OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT

The Structure and functions of the Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement is based on the principle of democratic centralism, which means:

1. That all committee elections shall proceed from below upwards.

2. That committees at lower levels shall implement the decisions and instructions of committees at higher levels.

3. That there shall be strict discipline which in turn means that the minority ones shall abide by the decisions of the majority.

4. That the affairs of the organization shall be administered proper

ly collectively, and with mutual consultation. No cooperative organization shall reach unilateral decisions without prior consultation of committees at lower levels. However, the executive committees may reach such decisions if these decisions do not contradict the program and the law of the organization as well as the decisions of the national committee.

5. That the structure of the General organization shall have national regional, district and village setup, going all the way to organizational links that shall follow the natural lines of respective trades.

PART THREE

POWERS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HIGHER ORGANS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

ARTICLE 9

GENERAL CONGRESS

1. The general congress is the supreme and most powerful organ of the cooperative organizations. It sets the goals and responsibilities of the general organization of the cooperatives. It forms and calls into session the national committee of the general organization of the cooperatives. The general congress meets once every five years.

The timing and agenda of the general congress shall be revealed not less than 45 days before the congress meets.

2. The general congress shall specify the internal and external policies of the general organization of the cooperatives, adopt and/or amend the program and the law.

It listens to reports of the national committee and elects members of the national committee of the movement of the general organization of the cooperatives.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ARTICLE 10

1. The national committee is the highest organ of the organiza-

tion of Somali cooperatives movement during the interval between two General congress. The number of its membership shall be determined by the General congress.

2. The national committee shall specify the general strategy relating to the activities of the general organization. It shall meet once every six months and may call into session an extraordinary meeting of the general congress if 2/3 of its membership decide.

3. Sessions of the national committee shall be presided over by the president of the organization of Somali cooperatives movement.

ARTICLE 11

DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. The national committee shall elect:

a) The president of the Organization of the general Somali cooperatives.

b) The executive committee.

c) The auditing committee.

2. The national committee investigates the work of the executive committee and discusses with it any important issue for which the executive committee may be accountable to the national committee.

3. It prepares the organization by laws and organizes the organization's internal and external relations.

4. The national committee may increase or decrease the number of members of the executive committee in response to General need.

5. The national committee has the responsibility to harmonize the structural set up of the organization.

6. The national committee has the responsibility to formulate and activate cooperative organizations and to specify the number of their branches.

7. Delegates of cooperatives organizations from the regions, and districts to the general congress shall be elected by the committees from their respective organizations but the number of these delegates shall be fixed by the national committee.

8. The national committee has the authority to approve membership in Arab, African, or other international general organizations of cooperatives.

ARTICLE 12

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1). The executive committee of the organization of Somali cooperative movement is elected by the national committee for a term of office of five years and it is the highest executive organ of the general organization of Somali cooperatives during the interval between any two sessions of the national committee.

2. The Executive committee shall consist of:

a). President of the executive committee.

b). Two vice-presidents.

c). Secretary of the department of foreign affairs.

d). Secretary of the Legal and records department.

e). Secretary of the planning and production department.

f). Secretary of the Education, vocational training and the development.

g). Secretary of the administration and finance department.

h). Secretary of the mobilization and social affairs department.

ARTICLE 13

1). The inspection and auditing committee of the organization of Somali cooperatives movement shall consist of chairman, vice chairman and three members and shall be

elected by the national committee once every five years.

2). The inspection and auditing committee is responsible for the inspection and auditing of the activities of the cooperative organization and of the executive committee. The committee inspects how the decisions of the general congress, the national committee are being implemented.

It insures that the activities of the cooperative organizations are carried out according to the law and program of the general organization.

The inspection and auditing committee, whose chairman is elected by the National Committee works directly with the President of the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives movement

3) The inspection and auditing committee investigates and reports to the executive committee on any complaints and disputes that may arise between cooperative organizations or among their members. The Committee may also investigate any complaints made by General Public against the cooperatives. The Committee has the right to have access to all cooperative documents pertinent to the matters under investigation and inspection. The Committee can recommend the prosecution in a court of law any body who embezzles cooperative funds or neglects cooperative property.

Article 14

PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT.

1. The President is the legal and executive head of the General Organization and is elected by the National Committee. He is the legal representative of the Organization to the Party, Governments Organs, Companies and other Social Organizations and

functions within the country and outside.

2. The duties of the President are:

a) To call General Congresses into session as well as meeting of the National and Executive Committees.

b) To counter sign all financial expenditures beyond the competence of the Secretary of the Finance department, as specified in the by laws of the Organization

c) To play an active role in the Movement and in all matters relating to the development of cooperative affairs.

Article 15

THE VICE-PRESIDENTS

1. The Vice-Presidents of the Organisation of Somali cooperative Movement are elected by the National Committee. The First Vice-President shall occupy the position of the President of the Movement when the elected President is unable to fulfill his duties, because of illness, absence within or outside the country, or because of other reasons.

2. The First Vice-President shall be responsible for political and social affairs,

3. The Second Vice-President shall be responsible for administration, economic and financial affairs.

Article 16

SECRETARY OF ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

This Office consists of the Secretary of Administrative affairs and an assistant. The duties of the Secretary of Administration are:

1) To direct the administrative affairs of the General Organization and the Executive Committees of the General Organization and Communicate them to the concerned regions and districts.

2) Collect, Preserve, systematize and keep in safe place all files of the workers of the cooperative organizations, and safeguard all the National and the Executive Committee documents.

3) Collect and keep in safe custody the organization's funds.

4) Administer the organization's expenditures and accounts.

5) Administer the organization's project investments.

6) To register, maintain, and project the property of the organizations.

7) To prepare and report on the Organization's budget.

8) To sponsor fairs for the merchandise of the cooperatives.

9) To register the organization's workers, salaries, compensations

Article 17

SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Organization for Foreign Affairs and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs are:

1. To work at the systematization and strengthening of the ties between the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement and other international Cooperative organizations with which the Somali cooperative Organization has relations.

2. To work for the class relations of the Somali Cooperative Organizations and those of friendly countries.

3. To represent the Organization abroad at all international meetings in which cooperative interests are discussed and to report to those meetings about the Organisation of Somali Cooperative Movement and the activities of the Somali cooperative organizations.

Article 18

SECRETARY OF THE LEGAL AND RECORDS DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Legal and Records Department and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of the Legal and Records Department are:

- 1) To prepare follow up on the laws, concerning the Somali Cooperative Organizations, and in general to collect the laws of the country.
- 2) To maintain ties and affiliation with the legal organs of the Party, the State, and social organisations in the country.
- 3) To register and work for the legalization of the cooperative organizations.
- 4) To prepare the by-law and resolutions of the cooperative organizations, when appointed to that work by the National Committee

Article 19.

SECRETARY OF THE PLANNING, AND PRODUCTION DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Planning and Production Department and an assistant by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of Planning and Production Department are:

- 1) To Plan and organise the methods by which the cooperative program and responsibilities are carried out, and to advice other departments on matters concerning proper planning for their respective responsibilities.
- 2) To explore and make research on the methods of investment and combination as necessitated by the ecological realities.
- 3) To Plan-long and short — terms projects and to scientifically determine the easiest means by which cooperative production can

be industrialized, making use of the available modern technology

- 4) To make general and particular censuses and make a critical evaluation of the projects undergoing implementation.
- 5) To Plan and organize a system of socialist workers emulation drives and to prepare the progress reports of the projects of the cooperative Organizations.
- 6) To look all matters concerning labour, production and organization of work.
- 7- Direct responsibility and accountability to the Organization for all activities connected with the improvement of production of the various cooperatives.
- 9- To help and advice the cooperatives in the selection of projects.
- 10) To organize socialist emulation drives and to award prizes.

Article 20

SECRETARY OF THE MOBILIZATION AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Mobilization and Social Affairs Department and an assistant. The duties of this Secretary are:

1. To arouse and create cooperative sentiments in the cooperative members, and to wage war on the doctrines opposed to the interests of the cooperatives.
2. To establish and disseminate the journals which represent the voice of the Cooperatives and to inform our cooperatives about the international movement of cooperatives.
3. To establish and maintain ties between the National Committee and the regions and districts.
4. To establish links between the movement of the General Organization cooperatives with the party.

5. To try to solve the social problems of the members of the Cooperatives.

6. To raise the standards of knowledge of the members of the cooperatives about culture and sports

7. To create sports groups and plan sports competitions among the cooperative Organizations.

8. To organise art, music, and theatre groups imbued with socialist sentiments for the cooperative organization.

9. To prepare suitable cadre for the Organization's activities, and work.

10. To disseminate the teaching of scientific Socialism, oppose the propaganda of the reactionary forces, imperialism and neo-colonialism, and to fight against tribalism.

11. To prepare posters, rallies, and orientational lessons according to the principles of scientific socialism.

Article 21

SECRETARY OF EDUCATION VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS.

This Office consists of the Secretary of Education, etc and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the secretary are:

- 1) To eradicate illiteracy and lack of political awareness from the midst of the cooperatives.
- 2) To organize training programs and seminars for craftsmen and members of the Cooperatives.
- 3) To organize debates and seminars for the cooperative committees of all levels.
- 4) To spread general as well as vocational education by which committees presented a final draft to cooperative organizations work so as to create cooperative that are aware of the importance of skills and the value of education.

5) To establish a cooperative training and research institute without which self-sufficiency in skilled manpower in the needed fields can never be realized.

6) To raise the political awareness of the members of the cooperatives.

PART IV

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR DIVISIONS

Article 22

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1) The Agricultural cooperatives organization combines within it all farmers cooperatives whose objective is to increase agricultural production in order that we may realize the call of the party, which is the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production and even to export surplus food.

2) The Agricultural cooperative organization consists of three kinds of cooperatives:

- a) Multipurpose cooperatives.
- b) Associational or Group cooperatives.
- c) Communes or advanced socialist cooperatives.

3) The Agricultural cooperatives organization fosters the growth of agricultural cooperatives so that they may fulfill the aims and aspirations towards self-sufficiency in agricultural production, and the organization also pioneers the development of the cooperatives to the advanced stage of co-operative development.

4) The Agricultural cooperatives shall combine their human and material resources in order that they may attain their goal of increased and collective production with the help of science and modern technology.

5) The Agricultural cooperatives organization defends the welfare and interests of the small farmer

and shall always strive for the unification and collectivization of the farmers.

Article 23

FISHING COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1) The Fishing and Ocean resources cooperative organization covers all cooperatives concerned with catching and marking fish. These cooperatives shall cooperate in matters relating to their duties such as processing and storage of their catches purchase procurement and preservation of their tools, sale, transport, industrialization and display of their production. They shall also cooperate in the use of their equipment motorized boats, nets and in all administrative system.

2) The fishing and ocean resources cooperatives shall have a collective administrative system.

Article 24.

SMALL FACTORIES AND CRAFTSMEN COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1. The Small Factories and Craftsmen Cooperatives Organization is a democratic organization based on the principles of socialist collectivization, and encompasses all small factories and craftsmen cooperatives. It initiates and leads all activities of the cooperatives in the organization for the qualitative and quantitative improvement of their production. The organization pioneers the industrialization of the cooperatives modes of production by making use of science and modern technology.

2. The objective of the small factories and craftsmen cooperative organization is to raise cooperative assets with which to meet the needs of the members of the cooperatives. Such cooperative assets shall, therefore, represent an increment in the socialized wealth of the country and a growth in

the general economy of the country.

Article 25.

CONSUMER AND SERVICES COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

The organization of consumer and services cooperatives is a democratic cooperative organization with class orientation. Its objective is the liberation of the workers and the masses from the injustices and exploitation of the acquisitive big businessmen. The organization aims at the establishment of general consumer and service cooperatives which sell goods imported by the state to the workers and the masses at reasonable prices.

1) The organization shall strive for the improvement of the quality of merchandise and services sold to the people by the consumer and services cooperatives. So as to care for the general health of the public the organization shall try hard to maintain accountable standards of cleanliness and hygiene in the consumer and other goods sold to the people. It shall inspect the means through which the cooperatives implement the law and program of the movement of Somali organisation cooperatives. The administration of these cooperatives shall be collective and their accounting system unified.

2) The organization of consumer and services shall concern itself with the establishing of food stores, coffee tea shops, Hotels, Tailorships, Butcheries and grain-groceries, barbershops, and pharmacies.

3) The Organization shall strive for the implementation of the national economic plans.

4) The organization shall give the widest publicity possible to the principles and benefits of socialist collectivization in order to attract new membership to the cooperatives.

Article 26.

LIVESTOCK, FORESTRY AND INCENSE COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

1) The Organization of the Livestock Forestry and Incense cooperatives is a democratic organization committed to socialist collectivization. Within it are all the livestock, Forestry and Incense cooperatives. The organization shall initiate the formation of cooperatives for livestock, animal fattening, forest and pasture ranges, sale of animals, experimentation with animal breeding, water and other necessities for the existence of livestock. With the cooperation of concerned state organs this organization shall initiate the ultimate industrialization of the livestock resources of the country.

2) The organization shall preserve trees and the member cooperatives shall strictly abide by the national policy directed against the dangerous effect of social erosion.

3) The organization shall work for the preservation of forests with economic value such as timber, rubber, frankincense, gums, caawda, etc.

4) The above named forests of economic importance shall be utilized through cooperatives. No tithes or monetary rents shall be realized from these forests, nor shall these trees be offered for sale to anybody.

5) The organization of these cooperatives shall have collective administrative and accounting system.

Article 27.

CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

1) The Organization of Construction and Transport Cooperatives is a democratic Organization based on socialist principles. It includes all cooperatives in the welfare of the cooperative members and the general public as well. the

organization shall organize and lead all workers making their living by working on building stones and through the production of lime

2) These cooperatives shall collect their tools and labour. However, they shall not offer unprocessed soil and sand for sale as this is contrary to cooperative aims and objectives.

3) The Organization shall have for the construction of housing so that the need of the public for shelter can be met. In this regard, the organization shall attempt to build more houses making use of technology and, in particular, mechanized construction industry.

4) The Organization shall strive for the integration and collectivization of the scattered garages and workshops in order to raise their level of production and skills, and improve their economic lot.

PART VI

REGIONAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE COMMITTEES

Article 28.

COMMITTEES OF COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REGIONS, DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES.

1. Every organization that is a member of the organization of Somali Cooperatives movement shall have organization committees composed of elected delegates from the component member cooperatives. At the same time every member cooperative shall have a committee of its own.

2. The Regional and district committees shall be elected once every five years by members of the cooperative committees, and cooperative committees shall be elected by the cooperative members once every five years.

3. The organization committee shall meet once every three years while the cooperative committee shall meet twice every week

Article 29.

REGIONAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

1) These organizations shall have an environmental base so that the administration of the regional, district, and village cooperatives may be unified, and they shall have regional cooperative organizations and district and village cooperative committees.

2) Committees of the regional cooperative organization shall be elected once every five years.

3) Like wise district cooperative committees shall be elected once every five years.

Article 30.

MEETINGS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIONAL COOPERATIVES.

1) The organization of regional cooperatives is the highest organ of the cooperatives at the regional level, and shall meet once every three months.

2) The district cooperative committee is the highest authority of the cooperative at the district level and shall meet once every two months.

3) Village cooperative committees may meet once every month.

PART VII

FINAL-PROVISIONS

Article 31.

PROPERTY AND BUDGET OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION

The Budget of the General Organization shall consist of :

1) Income from business activities of the organization itself.

2) Contributions from the member organizations.

3) Donations from regional and district cooperative organizations, their corporations and agencies.

4) Contributions from the Party, the state social organizations, and from other internal and external sources.

Article 32.

DIVISION OF THE INCOME OF THE COOPERATIVES

The system of sharing of cooperative profits and income shall be specified by the National Committee and shall be explained in the by-laws.

Article 33.

ABOLITION AND AMALGAMATION OF COOPERATIVES

Whenever it becomes clear that a cooperative is insolvent or the need arises for the combination of a number of cooperatives the National Committee of the organisation of Somali Cooperative movement shall have the power to abolish such an insolvent cooperative or combine any number of these as the case may be, taking into account the recommendation of the executive committee.

N/B : Any further explanation or clarification which is not mentioned in this law shall be included in the by-laws.



Declaration of the 1st congress of the organisation of the Somali Co-operative movement

The 1st Congress of the Somali co-operative movement was held at Mogadishu from 6-8th January 1978 at the Somali academy. 505 delegates participated in the deliberations of the congress, representing various co-operatives in the SDR.

The Congress was highly valued and appreciated by the participation of the leader, teacher of the revolution, the Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, members of the C.C, Polit-buro members of CC of SRSP, Government officials and the leaders of the Social Organizations. In the few days in which the Congress was held, the deliberations of the congress were carried out in a revolutionary and Socialist Spirit.

Holding the congress of the Somali Cooperative Movement is in line with decisions of the 3d plenary meeting of the C.C of SRSP concerning with the reestablishment of the Social Organisations and the directives of the Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare.

Hence, the 1st Congress of the Somali cooperative Movement was held a year and few months after

the establishment of SRSP and after the establishment of the SWDO, GUSW and USRY.

The Congress expressed clearly the class-character of the Somali cooperatives. The first congress of the organization of the Somali cooperatives coincided with a period, when the Somali people still under colonial yoke are waging an armed struggle for attaining their independence; it also came in a time, when the Somali working masses are in a fierce struggle for implementing the basis of Socialist Organization, increasing productivity, fight against imperialism, colonialism and all kinds of exploitation. The congress coincided also with a new period, when the Somali working masses are giving serious consideration safeguarding the achievements of the Revolution, safeguarding the independence and unity of the Somali people as well as strengthening the progressive consciousness of the Somali masses.

The 1st Congress of OSCM have listened to the wise speech given by Secretary General of the SRSP in which he Scientifically analysed the world issues, especially the ten-

sions at the Horn Horn of Africa. The speech discussed in detail the situation in the Horn, the conflicting forces and emphasised that the victory will side with the fighting people for their right, the just struggle of WSLF, Abbo, Eritrea, Afar and the progressive forces of Ethiopia. The Secretary General has pointed out the bright future of the Somali working masses in construction of a socialist Society, and elimination of all kinds of exploitation.

The congress also have listened the report of the CCof SRSP co-operative Bureau. The report of the Bureau gave details on the cooperative movement in Somalia and the different stages of its development till today, when the country is in a revolutionary era led by a new-type party and when social organizations has been organised. The congress has put forward the regulations and programme of the OSCM, which laid down the democratic base for the mobilization and organization of the organization.

The first congress of the organization of the Somali Cooperative

Movement after hearing the magnificent speech of the General Secretary and all written documents which have been put forward, has elected a national committee, and adopted the following decisions:-

A) The Somali cooperatives should live by, implement and adopt the ideas and concepts laid down by Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre's in his speech to the congress.

B) The Somali cooperatives should fulfill and implement the programme and regulations of the organization.

C) The Somali cooperatives in its work consider and purpose to employ the report of the C.C. of SRSP cooperative Bureau as a historical document.

A PROMISE

The first Congress of the organization of the Somali cooperatives taking his inspiration from the political programme of SRSP, considering the new situation of the country, taking the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP departing from the Scientific Socialist principles for the benefit of working masses, promises.

— To fulfill and carry out the programme of SRSP, guided by the principles of scientific socialism, and creation of new social relations based on justice equality and unity.

— To implement the decisions of the plenary sessions of CC of SRSP and the directives of the teacher of the Somali working masses Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre.

— To continue the just fight in order to achieve the cherished goal of the Somali people, which is to secure their existence, to achieve independence, Unity and real progress.

— To support, safeguard and defend the achievements and fruits

of the revolution and to march in a unified and conscious manner on the long path of the 21 Oct. Revolution.

— To increase and enhance productivity and to develop the quality of production, in order to achieve a complete self sufficiency.

— To safeguard and strengthen the discipline, good conduct, which are the life and basis of the organization.

— To strengthen the solidarity of the working people, in order to counteract against the conspiracies of the reactionary forces and to oppose set-backs.

— To fight unmercifully the reactionary forces, corruption, tribalism, nepotism, regionalism, selfishness, laziness, theft of the cooperative assets etc.

The first congress of the Somali cooperative Movement, has clearly announced that the Somali cooperatives are part of the world worker's movement, fighting for independence, democracy, peace and progress, and opposing imperialism, racism, zionism and all kinds of exploitation, and the Somali cooperative do believe that the final victory is on the side of those who are fighting for independence and democracy. The First Congress has warned seriously the intervention of the external forces in the Affairs of the Horn. And the first congress following the speech of the General Secretary of SRSP Jaalle Mhamed Siad Barre has pointed out that the objective of the Intervention of external forces in the affairs of the Horn is to endanger the sovereignty of the Somali people, to eliminate the National liberation Movement and nihilation of the basic principles of the self-determination of all nations, as well as to interfere in the African affairs, thus endangering the African and world peace.

The Somali cooperatives considering the particular conditions of the country and international experience, and giving a vital importance to the fulfillment of their proletarian tasks announce clearly:-

— That they fully support the world workers movement, and fully solidarise with them.

— That they give a full support to the national liberation Movements, fighting for their political independence, against exploitation, for building progressive and democratic society. The victory is on the side of just fight for the elimination of colonialism, and creation of an independent and free society, thus the Organization of the Somali Cooperative Movement is in line with the basic political principle of the 21 Oct. Revolution of 1969, the policy of SRSP, and employing purposefully the ideas and wise directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, denounces:

— The Colonialism, their conspiracies and multi-colored subterfuges on the just struggle of nationalists specially the fascist, imperialist of Ethiopia.

— Neo-colonialism efforts to keep the people's of the world under their yoke in order to exploit the resources of the developing countries.

— Racism supported by the international exploiters, against the rights of the African people.

— Zionism denying the right of the Arab people, especially the Palestinian people.

— The arrogance of some of the big powers who are imposing nations.

The Congress of the Somali Cooperative Movement points out clearly that the qualitative transformation of the cooperatives and

their vital role they reached, aside the subjective conditions, was achieved through the mobilization training, support of the 21 Oct. Revolution and the right guidance of the SRSP.

The Somali cooperatives give a valuable consideration which will be unseparable from their history, and an infinite full respect to Jaale «Siad». For this reason, the congress convey its thanks and salute to the Secretary General of the SRSP, for his valuable participation, for making possible and implementing this congress. The first congress conveys great thanks to CC of SRSP, the preparation committees, who were ready and alert for the smooth running and success of the congress.

The congress also gives great thanks to the Somali police forces and the Somali police academy, which had the honour that the congress has held in it, and the role played by the heads, officers as well as the policemen of this Academy.

The first congress conveys thanks to the honourable Guests representing the social organizations and Government, and thanks also to all heads, Associations, public agencies and masses, who supported and congratulated, showing their good will and appreciation for the congress.

The first congress congratulates reconsiders and highly appreciates the historical role of the members of SRSP, who undertook the 21 Oct.

October Revolution of 1969, and made possible for the Somali masses and specially the cooperatives to grow and take their active role in building of a new socialist society. The congress conveys great thanks to the central committee of the SRSP and its different organizations, which made possible the organization of the congress of the Somali cooperative movement in order to achieve its new tasks in this new era.

LET SOMALIA UNITE.

LONG LIVE THE SRSP

LONG LIVE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOMALI COOPERATIVES



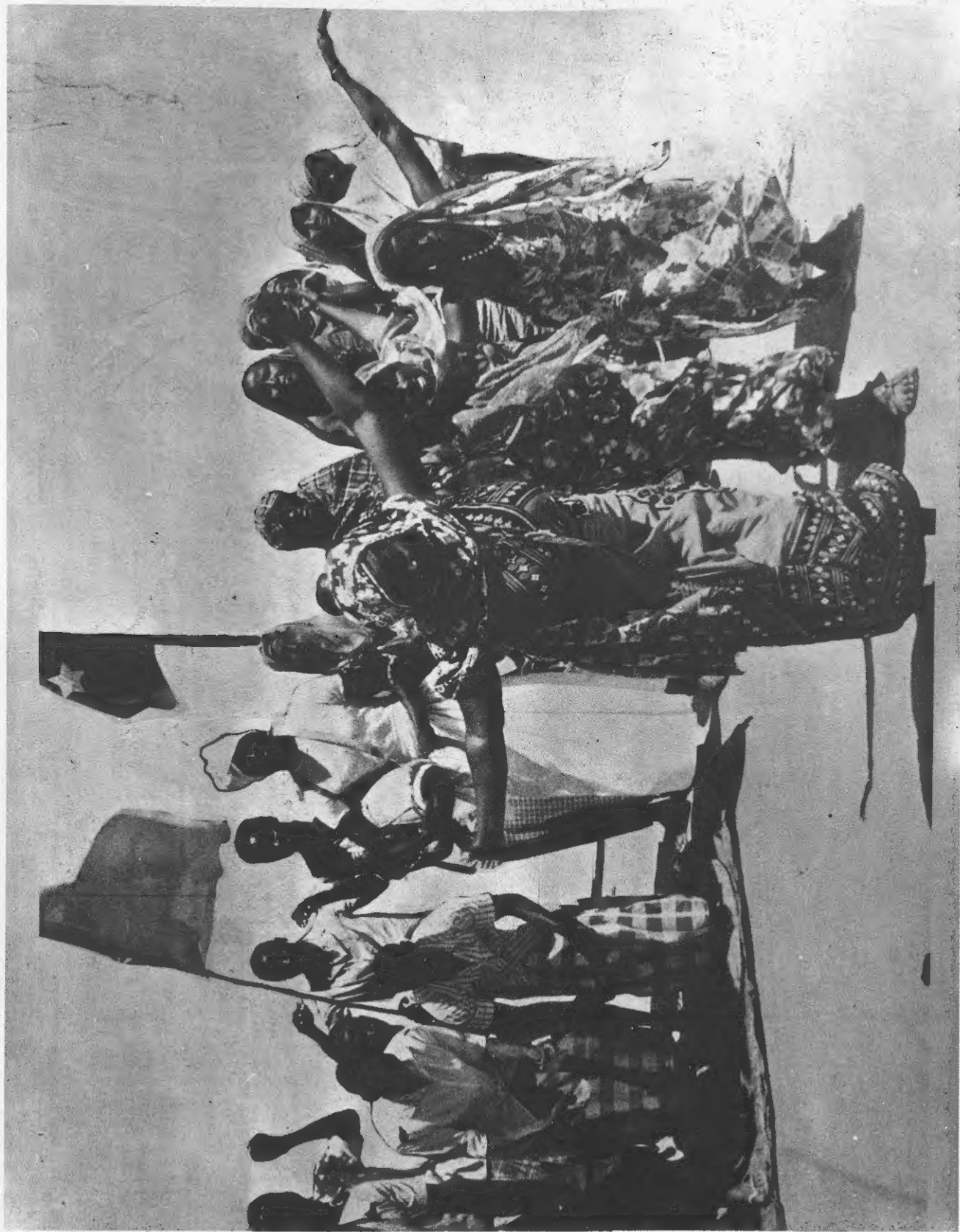
The Secretary General of the SRSP opening the 1st congress of the OSCM.

The President of the SDR and other C.C members attending the congress of the OSCM.



**THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF HALGAN TAKE THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND THEIR HEART-FELT
FELICITATION TO THE 1ST CONGRESS OF
THE SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.**

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One of the dances performed by the somali women's cultural competition



One of the Posters portraying the 1st congress
of the somali cooperative movement